

## Come Holy Spirit!

For the feast of Pentecost, the birthday of the Church, the rubrics prescribe red vestments—a color, says a note in our hand missal, that “recalls the tongues of fire and typifies the testimony that the ministers of God will have to bear to the gospel and seal with their blood by the power of the Holy Spirit.” The blood of martyrs, richly poured forth in testimony of God’s truth, is a familiar and ever-current fact of the faith. The sanguine spiritual audacity of the apostles, strengthened by the Holy Spirit, is inculcated in every child by the symbolic blow of the cheek at confirmation. But on the authority of the Creed, the Holy Spirit is essentially not a means of militancy but a spring of life, a source of light. It is a good index of the declension of religious ideas that we have come to think of intelligence as a spiritually antiseptic, non-personal instrument, best demonstrated by theoretical mathematicians; and of love as an unheeding, wholly human emotion, possessed in its purest form by adolescents. Pentecost reminds us that the Holy Spirit is incessantly providing light for the mind and strength for the will to assist us in our vocations. Apart from that aid there is neither life for the future nor light in the struggle. The Holy Spirit is, moreover, a fire, cauterizing selfishness; an unction, healing hurt hearts; a dew, softening the crust on eyes blinded by the glamour of the world. May the warm wisdom of the Holy Spirit, reaching the recesses of the minds of AMERICA’S Editors and readers, give a relish of what is right, a responsiveness to human needs and an imperious urge to love of God.

## For Palestine, prayer

By the time these lines meet the reader Britain’s mandate over Palestine will be within a day or so of termination. Twenty-eight years of trying to reconcile Arab and Jewish nationalism have thus ended in this open confession of complete failure. But with their bitter recollection of British lives lost in an ungrateful task, the Cabinet remains unashamedly resolved to throw in the sponge. If anyone else wants the mandate, in their view, he can have it. It is not known whether as of May 15 anyone at all will “have” Palestine. Partition is already an accomplished fact in the Holy Land and the Jews are determined that it shall remain so. But Arab armed forces, threateningly hovering on the borders of the Holy Land, especially the Arab legion of King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, give witness that no independent Jewish state will be tolerated by these impassioned foes of Zionism. Meanwhile, at Lake Success the United States has quietly allowed its proposals for a trusteeship for all of Palestine to go by the board in favor of a last minute effort to prepare “a provisional regime for Palestine” that would preserve some remnants of international authority there. The only hopeful spot in the picture is the “cease-fire”

order that has been in effect for the Walled City of Jerusalem. Arab and Jewish concern for the city may yet preserve it from desecration, but this prospect is tenuous and arouses the gravest solicitude throughout the Christian world. It was this anxiety that prompted the Holy Father in his encyclical of May 3 to call for a crusade of prayer for peace in Palestine. “If there is a region of the world that should be particularly dear to every well-born and civilized spirit it is surely Palestine,” he wrote. The Pontiff has asked that this year prayers during the month of May should have the particular purpose of imploring the Blessed Virgin that “conditions of Palestine may at last be settled according to equity and that there also concord and peace may happily triumph.”

## “Positive Program for Peace”

A statement with this title, dealing with the short-range task of averting war without yielding sound democratic principles, was presented to President Truman at the White House on April 30 by a delegation of churchmen representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Obviously trying to steer a middle course between the military solution and the Wallace solution, the Council program warns against primary reliance on military strategy to meet communist aggression, and holds that “there should be greater concentration on positive programs of an economic, social, political and moral nature.” It adds that circumstances may at times make forcible resistance a lesser evil than surrender, but that “no man should be deluded into thinking that a new war would achieve the end for which he would profess to be fighting.” This latter conclusion is confirmed, if anything, by the fact that the present struggle against totalitarianism is in the aftermath of a war fought to eliminate totalitarianism. It is unlikely that any responsible person will dissent from the Council’s condemnation of hysteria, fatalism or complacency about war, when General Eisenhower himself in his final report as Chief of Staff has disassociated himself from such theses or attitudes. No doubt the emphasis on military strategy currently manifested in national policy would not be necessary if in the recent past we had had more of the moral outlook urged by the Council. But right now it may well be that the friends of liberty abroad will be encouraged to carry on their fight under real risks by the knowledge that our liberty-loving policies have more than mere words to back them up. President Truman’s words to the churchmen are not reported, but his thoughts may well have run along these lines: “What am I supposed to do? Here I am being criticized for giving a too-ready ear to my military advisers, while in this very office a few months ago I was censured by another Protestant group for trying to emphasize moral and spiritual values by maintaining a personal representative at the Vatican!”

### *Half a loaf for the DP's*

The high hopes entertained by many Americans that Congress would take action for displaced persons on the wide humanitarian basis of the Stratton bill have apparently gone glimmering—the Stratton bill has evaporated, died in committee. But the pressure of public opinion and a growing realization of the gravity of the situation seem to assure that some aid will soon be proffered the DP's by congressional action (cf. "Congress and the DP's," *AMERICA*, May 8, p. 102). Two bills are now pending, the Fellows bill (H.R. 6163) and the Wiley bill (S. 2242). The Wiley bill has nothing to recommend it; it would admit only 50,000 DP's a year for two years, on a basis so selective as to be discriminatory. The Fellows bill is preferable; it would admit 200,000 in two years; permit 15,000 DP's now in the country to become citizens; give priority in admissions to skills in short supply in the U.S. labor scene. But one unrealistic restriction in the Fellows bill is that by which DP's admitted would be charged off against fifty per cent of the national immigration quotas. Now it is precisely the countries with a low immigration quota which have given the world the DP's. If all the Balts, for example, who are now DP's were admitted under the Fellows bill, the admission of other Balts would be mortgaged for up to 166 years. This is one of the features that must be amended; there are others that Congress must face realistically and equitably if it is to proffer the DP's a good half loaf. It is to our shame that we have apparently denied them the whole loaf—the Stratton bill—but even half a loaf is better than no bread, and the eyes of those thousands of DP's are looking to our shores for bread—bread of wheat, yes, but even more the bread of freedom.

### *Testing legality of released time in New York*

As expected, the Freethinkers of America, through their president Joseph Lewis, have brought suit to forbid New York State to continue its released-time program off public-school premises. Counsel for the freethinkers, Arthur G. Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Osmond K. Fraenkel, maintain that the released-time classes are "a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system of the State of New York to aid religious groups to spread their respective faiths, in violation of constitutional guarantees." Back in 1926 Lewis sought to ban the released-time plan then operative in White Plains, N. Y. He was defeated in three State courts, and the decision of the State Court of Appeals was made the legal basis of the present released-time pro-

gram in New York State, which was inaugurated in 1940. Arguments in the current litigation were presented on May 14. Whether by accident or design, Mrs. Vashti McCollum, principal in the Champaign case which the U.S. Supreme Court decided in her favor on March 8, appeared in New York the other day and granted an interview. As reported by Martin Abramson in *PM*, what she there said differed so radically from her complaint either to the Illinois or the U.S. Supreme Court as to appear specially slanted to divert the New York case from constitutional issues to an appeal to class and racial sensibilities. It may be that the New York litigation will be the test case to decide whether the entire released-time program as operated in all parts of the country is to fall victim to the forces of secularism and irreligion. It is thus of the very highest importance not only that the best legal talent in the State be retained to defend the constitutionality of released time off public-school premises according to the stated wishes of parents, but that legal opinions and arguments from every part of the country be put at the service of the counsel for the New York State Commissioner of Education and the New York City Board of Education. If the Freethinkers of America lose in New York, they will undoubtedly appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Preparation for that contingency dictates that the arguments presented in New York be as strong and unassailable as the cause justly warrants.

### *Conflict in Indonesia*

Clouds of anarchy and confusion once more threaten to envelop Indonesia as charges and counter-charges flare up in the United Nations. The Indonesian delegation has sought a hearing before the UN Security Council to charge the Netherlands Government with "sabotaging" the truce which ended the Dutch-Indonesian fighting last January. High on the list of charges is the allegation that a Netherlands naval blockade slowly throttles 70 million Indonesians. According to the Indonesian spokesman, his country is prepared to ship to the United States quantities of oil, rubber, sugar, tin, bauxite, spices, quinine and other raw materials in exchange for cotton yarns, textiles, medical supplies, motor vehicles, fertilizers, paper and communications equipment. The Dutch blockade prevents such shipments. In addition, the Indonesians charge, the Dutch deliberately delay implementation of the "Renville" truce, calling for a transitory period of peace, following which a United States of Indonesia is to be established. Indonesia's appeals to the UN three-member Good Office Committee have not prevailed. The Netherlands spokesmen, on the other hand, assert that charges against them of being imperialists, ruthless exploiters or reactionary colonial rulers, have no basis whatsoever. Their country realizes, as Queen Wilhelmina solemnly declared a few months ago, that "colonialism is dead" forever. They are merely trying, by orderly progression, to establish a genuinely independent United States of Indonesia, representative of all elements. First step was formation of an interim government, to restore order and get people back to work. But Indonesian leaders, say the Dutch, impede the process of normalization. Among them

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Editor-in-Chief: JOHN LAFARGE

Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN

Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER

Associate Editors: BENJAMIN L. MASSE, ALLAN P. FARRELL

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

Contributing Editors: WILFRID PARSONS, ROBERT A. GRAHAM

J. EDWARD COFFEY, EDWARD DUFF

Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH CARROLL

Promotion and Circulation: EDWARD F. CLARK

are some Communists and ordinary adventurers. Food was not being produced, so that millions had to be fed by the Netherlands Government. Hence the Dutch were compelled to use force, simply to clear large areas of rebelling elements and make agriculture possible. The Dutch reassert that by January, 1949 a sovereign republic of the United States of Indonesia will be established, as agreed at Cheribon. The real danger is that this prolonged fighting benefits only one force, already rampant in Asia, namely, Soviet communism.

### **Cement pricing outlawed**

In 1943, the Federal Trade Commission ordered the Cement Institute and seventy-four manufacturers to stop certain pricing practices on the ground that they resulted in discrimination and restraint of competition. These practices involved the use of multiple basing points—a variation of the old Pittsburgh-plus idea—with the result that in any given city at any one time the price of cement was the same for all “competing” brands. To the FTC, this looked like conspiracy to circumvent the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act. The industry protested, argued that its pricing practices preserved competition, carried the case to the courts. Some three years later, in September, 1946, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago, unexpectedly agreeing with the industry that the basing point system preserved competition in cement making, vacated the FTC order. Since the pricing systems of many other industries, including steel, were involved, the Commission appealed to the Supreme Court. On April 26 it won a smashing victory. By a six-to-one decision, the Court held that the “cement trust” had combined to fix prices as the FTC charged, and that the effect of this price fixing had been to lessen competition. While reserving final judgment on the case, we suggest that a thorough congressional investigation of the present state of competition is in order. In recent months the announcement by single firms of a price increase has resulted in virtual industry-wide price increases in oil and steel. In both cases the excuse for the price increase was “competition.” If, as some industrialists argue, price competition in certain products results in regional monopolies, which in the long run are harmful to the consumer, the country ought to face the facts instead of mouthing slogans about free competitive enterprise which may no longer be valid.

### **Toward a health plan for the U.S.**

Some 800 delegates, representing major national organizations with a membership of 15,000,000, gathered last week at the request of President Truman for the National Health Assembly in Washington. The convention's avowed aim is to chart a ten-year health program for the country. Delegates included representatives of the AFL, the CIO, the National Farmers Union, American Medical Association, health organizations, cooperatives, social agencies, physicians' and veterans' groups. At the outset, speakers agreed almost unanimously that America's medicine is probably the best in the world. Judging by mortality rates, our country ranks among the

healthiest nations. But medical benefits are not equally shared by our people. As a result, millions of Americans lack adequate medical care. The agenda of the convention included such topics as medical research, medical care, professional personnel, hospital facilities, local public-health units, chronic disease, maternal and child health, mental health, nutrition and sanitation. Immediate goals for a national health program were outlined in a statement by the assembly's steering committee. The main points can be summarized as follows: 1) adequate medical services for all without regard to race, color, creed, residence or economic status; 2) contributory health insurance as a basis for financing medical care; 3) a voluntary prepayment health plan; 4) freedom to establish voluntary insurance plans on a cooperative or industrial basis; 5) high standards of service and efficient administration at reasonable costs; 6) a national insurance program, with decentralized administration throughout the States. In the past, serious divergence of views as regards details of a national health program has stood in the way of coordinated effort. The Health Assembly, it is hoped, marks the beginning of a new, constructive approach to problems of improved medical service.

### **Protestants and religious liberty**

Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University, writing an editorial note to an article, “Federal Aid in Education,” by Lewis J. Sherrill (*Christianity and Crisis*, April 26, pp. 50-53), raises a question for Protestants that has been on our mind for quite a long time. Protestant spokesmen are wont to lay great stress on the large-minded Protestant interpretation of religious liberty; and they often contrast it with what they take to be a much narrower if not opposite Catholic interpretation. Dr. Sherrill confesses that it is not easy for Protestants to strike a durable balance between the principle of withholding public funds from parochial schools and the principle of State autonomy with respect to educational policy. But Dr. Johnson thinks a “prior question” should be put, and in effect it asks whether in actual practice Protestants follow out their theory of religious liberty:

It is the question whether full religious liberty is enjoyed by parents [e.g. by Catholic parents] who feel obligated to send their children to schools which have a religious orientation, and which they must help to support, when even the auxiliary service of free transportation is denied them. To raise this question is easier than to find a satisfactory answer, but is it not one which we Protestants, with our devotion to religious liberty, should candidly face? To be sure, it involves the puzzling problem of finding where to draw the line, but justice always involves this difficulty.

As the Supreme Court decision in the recent McCollum case has stirred Protestants to face the logical consequences of their theory of the “absolute separation of Church and State,” so too Dr. Johnson's “prior question” challenges them to examine whether respect for the natural obligations of conscience in their theory of religious liberty is real or only a slogan. It is only a



slogan so long as it holds that when parents follow their conscience and send their children to a parochial school they thereby forfeit any share in the help which the States or the Federal Government give to lighten the parental burden in respect to education.

### ***A wrong is righted***

It would have looked better in the records if they had been guilty of some kind of sabotage. But the most diligent efforts of the police failed to uncover one instance; so that was taken as evidence of the profound cunning of their plotting. They were arrested and interned as potential enemies of the people. A familiar enough picture, in Russia or Yugoslavia; but, as Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman said in San Francisco on April 29, one "without precedent and unique" in the history of American law. He was restoring citizenship rights to some 2,700 Americans of Japanese descent (less than three per cent of the internees) who, under pressure of "fear, anxiety, hopelessness and despair," had renounced their American citizenship. It was a shameful thing for our Government, having itself betrayed American ideals, to expect these people to declare their loyalty to those ideals. Judge Goodman's decision is a welcome, if tardy, act of justice.

### ***Mundt bill against Communists***

How is the Government to put a crimp in Stalin's conspiratorial fifth column without endangering genuine freedom of speech and association—indispensable in a free society—and without unjustly penalizing social theorists who, however violent and wrong-headed their theories, have no intention of subverting our Government by force or fraud? Representative Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota has essayed this difficult task in a bill presented April 28 to the House Un-American Activities Committee. This would make unlawful any movement designed to establish here a totalitarian dictatorship under foreign domination or control. Among other things, it would require registration and filing of membership lists by all communist political organizations. "Front" organizations would have to be registered, but membership lists need not be filed; this for the protection of innocents who had been sucked in. Mr. Mundt's proposal seems an intelligent attempt to smoke out the communist fifth column without endangering our essential liberties.

### ***Protestant NCWC or World Church***

In Chicago, on April 26, plans for the merger of eight Protestant inter-church agencies into a single National Council of the Churches of Christ in America were announced. United efforts in the fields of evangelism, religious education, missions and social relations, increased efficiency in influencing public opinion, and reduction of duplication would result, it was felt. Dr. Luther A. Weigle, dean of Yale Divinity School, chairman of the administrative committee which formulated the plan, explained: "We are acting in the conviction that, without destroying denominational identities or limiting freedom of conscience, the ends desired may be achieved." In Boston

two days later a different sort of merger was proposed by the bishops of the Methodist Church to 800 delegates at the opening of their quadrennial General Conference. The formation of "a Holy Catholic Church to which all men belong" was the object of the proposal. A union of American Protestantism would "electrify the world," it was said, and hasten the ultimate full union of Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy. When that union is accomplished and the Christians of the world belong to two great churches, the bishops surmised that "the leadership of that day may be Christian enough and creative enough to kneel before a common altar, beg forgiveness of the Christ for disunity, and, sharing in the bread and wine of Holy Communion, rise in His spirit to form the Holy Catholic Church." Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, expressed to the Conference his hope for the union of his church and the Methodists. What the Church is and whether it is *formed* by organizational mergers will undoubtedly become an increasingly preoccupying inquiry of Protestant theologians and a question of inescapable centrality at the assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in August.

### ***Equal rights for women***

It is quite some time now—a little over three years, in fact—since we last adverted to the proposed "Equal Rights for Women" amendment to the Constitution. That was in our issue of March 3, 1945. Our opinion then was, and still is, that if unfair legislative discrimination against women is to be abolished, the proposed amendment represented probably the least efficient and most harmful way of doing it. At present, however, there is a bill (H.R. 2007) in the House Judiciary Committee which makes a sane and thoughtful approach to the problem, and which is supported by substantially the same groups that opposed the amendment. Its main provisions are: 1) a declaration of public policy that "in law and its administration no distinctions on the basis of sex shall be made except such as are reasonably justified by differences in physical structure or biological or social function"; 2) the establishing of a commission, with legislative action in view, to study the "economic, civil, social and political status of women, and the nature and extent of discriminations based on sex throughout the United States, its Territories and possessions"; 3) instructions to Government agencies and departments to conform their regulations, so far as is consonant with existing law, to the policy declared by the bill; 4) a recommendation to the States to bring their laws into conformity with the same policy. Whereas the proposed—and now, we hope, defunct—amendment offered only a vague declaration about "equal rights," H.R. 2007 recognizes not only physical and biological differences between men and women, but also differences of social function. Moreover, it premises the whole question of legislative redress upon a careful study of the actual status of women in American law. This would also have the effect of focusing attention upon discriminations in the large fields of State legislation where Congress has no competence.



## Washington Front

It can, I think, be taken as certain that the first aim of our foreign and domestic policies is to avoid a third world war. If a vote were to be taken in both Houses of Congress on that question, there would not be a dissenting voice. However, if there is one thing that Winston Churchill's current reminiscences prove, it is that countries become entangled in an inevitable war months and years before by long series of well-meaning but stupid actions one after the other.

It would be a fascinating, and useful, study to examine all the things we are doing, and have done since Yalta and Potsdam, that might entangle us in war with Russia. It is well to remember, as Churchill shows, that the one thing above all others that brought on war with Germany was that France and Britain were afraid of war with her. Under the stress of that fear, one step after another was taken that made Hitler unafraid that war with them would result.

There are many analogies between that time and this, but the analogy is not complete. Stalin, like Hitler, certainly would like to achieve his imperialistic aims without recourse to armed fighting; but we always knew, or should have known, that Hitler would fight if he could not get what he wanted otherwise. We are not sure that

Stalin will. Hitler's whole dynamic was based on a conscious will to conquer. Stalin and his clique, recreant as they are to many Marxist precepts, have retained at least this of Marxism—that they rely on a blind dialectic of determinist forces in Western civilization, as they see it, to bring about our inner downfall inevitably.

The lesson for us is clear, and if we heed it we can avoid both collapse and war, and so defeat. The common reaction to communism has hitherto been fascism; one of the greatest arguments against communism is that it has tended to create Fascists, or at least to make people act fascist, in reaction to it. But I do not think that that can be said any more. The world is no longer looking to fascist techniques to save it from Marxism.

The latest and clearest proof of this is the Italian election; but there are also significant events in France and elsewhere that point the same way. It is interesting to note that in Italy and France and occupied Germany it is the Christian Democrats who have held the anti-communist line without going fascist. I do not know if official Washington, outside of some well-informed circles in the State Department, is aware of this new and significant development, but if it is supported it may well be the thing that will save us.

In this country, only a lunatic fringe has reacted to communism by thinking and acting fascist. Mr. Stassen, in the heat of his campaigns, has come perilously close, and would be well advised to steer away. Common sense may indeed be reasserting itself. WILFRID PARSONS

## Underscorings

The National Catholic Laymen's Retreat Conference (whose secretary is Daniel E. Morrissey, 111 W. Washington St., Chicago 2, Ill.) has sent out a questionnaire to all known men's retreat houses and centers asking for 1947 statistics and other pertinent information. It is hoped that a comprehensive report can be prepared for the National Retreat Conference which convenes in St. Louis, June 18-20.

► A new retreat house for women will be opened this summer at St. Joseph's Villa on the banks of the Hudson, near Catskill, N. Y., by the Sisters of St. Francis, who have given it the name of Fatima Retreat House. . . . In 1947 the Milford Retreat House, Milford, Ohio, conducted retreats for 1,540 men; Mt. Manresa on Staten Island, N. Y., had 48 retreats for 2,960 men and 12 retreats for 498 high-school seniors—a total of 60 retreats and 3,458 retreatants; at Manresa-on-Severn at Annapolis, Md., there were 48 retreats for 3,112 retreatants, and over a span of 22 years at the Annapolis retreat house a total of 38,751 men made retreats—a yearly average of 1,761.

► Last year three scholarships to Catholic colleges were awarded by Catholic Scholarships for Negroes Inc. of Springfield, Mass. The three scholars enrolled at St.

Joseph's College, Philadelphia; Dunbarton College, Washington, D. C.; and Marywood College, Scranton, Pa. Recently three members of the first graduation class of Blessed Martin High School, Wheeling, W. Va., won scholarships for 1948-49, and have chosen to attend De Paul University, Chicago; Duquesne University, Pittsburgh; and the University of Notre Dame. Catholic Scholarships for Negroes Inc., sponsored by Archbishop Cushing of Boston and supported by the contributions of charitable Catholics, exists to help Negro Catholic youth secure a Catholic college education. Its goal is to be able to award, not three, but ten scholarships for 1948.

► A number of correspondents have called attention to the plight of poorer parishes in attempting to start or run parochial schools. Many parishes have no school; others have a school but not enough money to support it adequately. And there aren't enough nuns to go around. The result is substandard equipment and facilities, as well as grossly overcrowded classrooms. What to do about it? Somebody suggested establishing a diocesan fund, perhaps by having one special collection a year. Money would be distributed to help build and support schools in the poorer parishes. Another urges wider employment of Catholic lay teachers, selecting only the best and paying them public-school salaries. "It is not enough to have parish schools; they must be at least as good as the best public schools." A.P.F.

# Editorials

## Outcome of Bogotá

Full appraisal of achievement at Bogotá awaits the judgment of history. But in the immediate present some evaluation is possible, in terms of what was hoped for and what was actually accomplished. All things considered, the Ninth Inter-American Conference was as successful as could have been expected.

The organic pact, giving formal entity to the union of American States, has been signed and will no doubt be ratified. This defines the status of the Conference itself, which normally meets every five years. It regularizes the meetings of consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. It clarifies and coordinates the work of the Council, the Pan-American Union, the specialized conferences and the specialized organizations. Provided flexibility of structure is maintained, this means that many old objections against functionings of the Inter-American system are removed.

The final draft of the constitution incorporates ideas supported by the United States and generally accepted by Latin-American jurists as principles of action. One of these is the principle that continuance of diplomatic relations by a state does not imply approval of the internal policies of the government recognized. In Latin America, where governments have traditionally changed almost overnight, this means that diplomatic relations with a *de facto* government need not be interpreted as intervention.

However, the U. S. has made several reservations regarding the pact. It will probably continue to disapprove the provision which bars diplomatic assistance to a citizen so long as that citizen's case is before courts of the country in which he is an alien. Reasons for the U. S. position are clear. She feels a country has a right to be positively interested in the welfare of her citizens wherever they be, even when in legal straits. Moreover, the U. S. doubts the adequacy of legal safeguards of the accused in some Latin-American countries.

The economic issue loomed larger than was expected at Bogotá. The United States came away from the conference more aware of the great economic barriers which separate her from some of the underdeveloped countries. Many Americans, including some with capital, want to help in development of resources so that the South American countries will be in a better bargaining position and can take their rightful place in world economic affairs.

But we find our motives too often regarded as suspect—a situation which nationalist and communist forces are quick to exploit. To an American investor the question of expropriations is not half so rhetorical as some of our neighbors think. Nor can we buy raw materials

from them if the sale of our goods is made too difficult.

Clearly more cooperation in determining economic policies is called for. That should be the outcome of the forthcoming economic conference of the Inter-American States. There is no gain to anyone in undoing the good accomplished at Havana during the international conference on trade and employment. If at times U. S. business men abroad appear grasping and aggressive, certainly some of the Latin-American countries provide examples of economic isolationism and nationalism.

The colonial issue is quite clear. Continued holding of colonies or dependencies by non-American states has been disapproved. Sentiment is strong against it, but not so strong that peaceful solutions cannot be found. U. S. abstention from signing this declaration apparently means nothing more than that we do not wish to embarrass Britain at this time.

The anti-communist resolution got unanimous approval. It also received fervent support—perhaps too fervent—from rightist regimes. But its adoption does mean that the American nations are at last aware of the immediacy of the communist threat. The paragraph repudiating all totalitarianism is a good omen. But more of that point later.

## Voice of America

The appointment of Edward W. Beattie Jr. as head of all news operations for the "Voice of America" is said to be the first in a series of moves which will bring widespread changes in the State Department's organization for the dissemination abroad of information about the U.S. The shift in policy is reportedly going to take the form of a "quick, aggressive operation to defend the European Recovery Program against immediate attacks from the Soviet Union and its satellites." In the jargon of journalism, lies will undoubtedly be promptly "nailed," false charges will be "countered" and Soviet slavery will be "confronted" with the advantages of the American way of life. It is not difficult to see the debate growing in stridency until it is concluded by each side's jamming the other's transmitter.

Since the public press indicates that the whole policy of foreign propaganda is under review, it seems opportune to observe that the first principle of rhetoric—the art of convincing—advises an estimate of the audience to be addressed. The audience which the "Voice of America" is endeavoring to reach in Europe is culturally Christian, for the simple reason that the European community has a common historical experience and a single spiritual inheritance—Christianity.

The meticulousness and alacrity of their religious ob-

service is not at issue here; it matters from a propagandist's point of view that Europeans derive from a definite culture, are born to certain values and loyalties.

The political forces opposing totalitarianism most resolutely and resourcefully happen to be Christian Democratic parties. The social programs of wider economic security they are espousing happen to be Christian in inspiration. The defense of democracy and the hopes of humankind happen to have their only foundation in a humanism reflecting ancient Christian traditions.

It also happens that there are 200,000,000 Catholics in Europe, as a German listener reminded the BBC recently. On April 30, fifty thousand of them gathered to salute His Eminence Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, under attack by the Soviet-controlled Hungarian radio—a demonstration that should interest a propagandist eager to win listeners behind the Iron Curtain.

The "Voice of America"—whatever the reported change of policy portends—will continue to need a Yankee passion for facts. It will need, no less than facts, a proper perspective, a realization that the West it proposes to rally is a Christian culture, that the ingenuity that can sell cuff-buttons and contraceptives to the world needs profounder insights if its message is to strike a familiar chord in the memory of a European.

## Strike wave

Big business made the bed. Now it wants labor to lie in it.

That is what is behind most of the strikes, actual or threatened, today. The workers are refusing to curl up submissively and take the consequences of one of the worst guesses industry ever made.

The bed, it should be remembered, was made in the spring of 1946 by big business—spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers and strongly supported by greedy commercial farm interests—when it wrecked price controls. The story of the past two years has been, on the part of workers, a losing fight to catch up with galloping living costs; on the part of industry a reaping of the lushest crop of profits in history.

Now, for some reason or other, big business has decided that prices have gone high enough. It is ready to admit publicly that its roseate prediction, about what would happen to prices if only OPA shackles on production were removed, have not come true. Competition has not provided an abundance of goods at prices people are able to pay, and there is no hope of anything like this happening in the near future. So business is going to defy the law of supply and demand which it lauded so fulsomely in 1946; it is going to stop the upward rush of prices by managing the economy. And since someone has to pay for the original blunder, why not the worker?

But the workers do not want to pay for the blunder, at least not alone. They look at profits and wonder why industry cannot give them a modest wage increase to compensate for the advance in living costs since last year—and still not raise prices. And where they are strong enough, or desperate enough, they are resisting, or pre-

paring to resist, lying in a bed that was made by others.

That is the meaning of the packinghouse strike, and of the strikes of construction workers in Buffalo and aircraft workers at the Boeing plant in Seattle. And if they are not headed off, that will be the meaning of the strikes on railroads and in automobiles, at Westinghouse and General Electric.

All these interruptions of production are deplorable and, in view of the present state of world affairs, ought to be avoided. But, barring a miracle, they will not be avoided. And the only miracle that can stop this insane march of events seems at the moment impossible.

The miracle we have in mind is a meeting of the handful of men in big business and labor whose decisions have an impact on the whole economy. These men would assemble in Washington, with representatives of the Departments of Labor and Commerce, and there decide on a general policy covering wages and prices over the next twelve months. What that policy should be is clear: no wage increases and a healthy cut in prices—much more than the piddling reductions in steel prices announced last week. With this agreement in its pocket, the Government could then go to the farmers and demand a significant reduction in agricultural prices. With all parties concerned adhering to such a program, chances would be good not merely for avoiding industrial warfare, but for escaping some of the worst effects of our postwar folly. But, alas, it won't happen here.

Meanwhile we regret the growing violence in labor disputes and ominous signs of intransigence and arrogance on the part of management. Are we headed back, one wonders, toward the dark days of 1937?

## Social order and Italy

Anti-communist forces won the elections in Italy but they still have before them a battle for social reconstruction. If you think this battle will be comparatively easy, just ponder on the social significance of what has happened.

The Christian Democrats, who in principle at least stand for constructive reforms along acceptable lines, obtained but forty-eight per cent of the vote. This marks an increase over their previous strength, but it means that to defeat the communist bloc decisively they had to rely on the conservative elements and the Saragat Socialists. Many of the latter are still Marxist, despite strong anti-Stalinist feelings. And among the former are not a few reactionaries with little understanding of social reform. At best the political alliance is a shaky one. It does not promise overmuch by the way of a constructive program. Yet reform must come, and from within.

By this time the communist line is clear—the election was stolen from them by a coalition of reactionaries. In his statement to the Communist Central Committee on May 5, Palmiro Togliatti fastened the blame for defeat of the Popular Front squarely on the shoulders of Catholic Action. Accordingly, he says, the pro-communist bloc must unite more closely than ever to fight the "menace of clerical dictatorship." If no reforms are forthcoming,



or if they are relatively unimportant, the Church is to blame, so the Communists assert. And it is well to note that even some anti-Stalinist Socialists are beginning to talk the same way. In their minds, the Christian Democratic victory stands or falls on its social reforms.

In Italy, as elsewhere, the Christian conscience is being challenged. Obviously it cannot sell out to mere material advantage, regardless of spiritual values. It cannot go Marxist, much less communist. But what does it offer instead? That is the question the world is asking right now, at least those portions of the modern world in which Christianity is more than an empty name. And it is, in many respects, a very skeptical and calculating world, inclined to judge more by performance than by rhetorical promises. It wants to see Christianity honestly and courageously applied in the marketplace.

In Italy that means something definite, as Catherine Maher points out in her on-the-spot report elsewhere in these pages. It means progressive abolition of feudal landholdings. It means the end of abject poverty among share-cropping peasants. It means intelligent investment of capital in constructive commercial enterprises, capable of employing the urban masses under terms of social justice. And since Italy claims to be Catholic, and since the major party of government is Christian Democrat, the performance is bound to be judged in terms of Catholic social teaching. That is the challenge today.

The lesson needs to be learned elsewhere as well. At this juncture of history, Christians who are unduly influenced by wealth and economic power are a positive menace, both to their Church and to Western civilization.

One cannot reject anti-Christ in totalitarian communism and then bring him in through the back door of reaction. Ignorance of Catholic social teaching, smugness and halfhearted performance, indifference to the social and economic conditions of mankind's masses, espousal of the cause of the extreme Right, education for the success ideal rather than for constructive Christian living—these and other faults like them are so many betrayals of Christ's cause in contemporary society. Today nothing but conscious and far-seeing social leadership has a chance of impressing those who identify Christianity with reaction.

## The Court and the covenants

On May 3 the Supreme Court decided that State or Federal courts could not constitutionally enforce restrictive covenants—agreements by which the purchaser of a house or land is precluded from leasing or selling it to Negroes or other specified racial groups. As private agreements, the covenants might stand; but court action to enforce them violated the Fourteenth Amendment and was contrary to the public policy of the United States.

So ends a chapter in American social history that began in Baltimore, Md., in 1910, where the first racial zoning ordinance was passed to keep Negroes, very literally, "in their place." Baltimore's example was quickly followed by other cities, such as Winston-Salem, N. C., Birmingham, Ala., Louisville, Ky., St. Louis, Mo. Be-

ginning, however, with *Buchanan v. Warley* in 1917, the Supreme Court struck down a Louisville ordinance as contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. New Orleans fared no better in 1927, nor Richmond, Va., in 1930. The Supreme Court of Oklahoma declared such an ordinance (in Oklahoma City) void in 1935; and the Supreme Court of North Carolina ruled similarly against Winston-Salem in 1940.

Clearly the way of ordinances was barred; and the "restrictive covenant" was conceived as a detour. Cities and States could not, without violating the Constitution, take official action to segregate minorities; but private citizens could enter into private agreements about it. The idea caught on and spread. In 1940 it was estimated that eighty per cent of the city of Chicago was closed to Negroes by such devices. Restrictive covenants were generally upheld by the State courts.

Last January the U.S. Supreme Court heard the constitutionality of covenants argued in two cases arising in Missouri and Michigan and one from the District of Columbia. Three Justices—Messrs. Jackson, Reed and Rutledge—had disqualified themselves, and took no part in the case. On May 3 the six remaining Justices, speaking through Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, unanimously ruled against the covenants. Said the Chief Justice:

Because of the race or color of these petitioners they have been denied rights of ownership or occupancy enjoyed as a matter of course by other citizens of different race or color.

The Fourteenth Amendment declares that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States. . . .

In these cases, the States have acted to deny petitioners the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

It is true, said Mr. Vinson, that the Fourteenth Amendment "erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful." But, "in granting judicial enforcement of the restrictive agreements in these cases, the States have denied petitioners the equal protection of the laws."

The restrictive covenanters are very neatly hoist with their own petard. Because these were private agreements, said the covenanters, they were exempt from the constitutional ban upon discrimination by the States or the Federal Government. Very well, said the Court, if they are private, let them be private; that means that you may not call upon the State to enforce them. The State can discriminate through its judicial power as well as through its legislative or executive power; and "judicial action is not immunized from the operation of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The May 3 decision will not affect those who prefer to observe restrictive covenants. But it will prevent them from blocking those who do not wish to observe them. The growing number of people who see the stupidity of penning minorities into ghettos and expecting to promote peace that way can no longer be hindered by the dead hand of a covenant, are no longer at the mercy of some racial bigot who would haul them into court to have the civil authority consecrate his bigotry.

# Triumph of the Third Force in Italy

Catherine Maher

Catherine Maher, news-writer, foreign-language monitor and reporter for the New York Times from 1940 to 1945, was in Rome during the recent Italian elections, and plans to return to that city for a few months to observe the social and political developments that may follow.

Rome.—The Italian elections have registered a defeat for the Communists and a victory for the Christian Democrats. But, like most defeats, the communist defeat in Italy, however decisive, is not necessarily definitive. And like most victories, the Christian Democrat victory, however reassuring, harbors seeds of possible future failure. The new situation in Italy places before Signor De Gasperi and his party certain problems that are no less tests of the future of non-communist government in the peninsula than were the elections themselves. In other words, the elections are one stage passed with flying colors in a race which still goes on. It is time now to appraise soberly the substance of the victory achieved and to assay the chances of the victors to give Italy a stable, non-communist parliamentary government.

Turning first to the defeated Communist Party and its changed status, the elections marked the end of the post-war communist trial at selling their form of government to the Italian people under the legal cover afforded by a parliamentary regime. Through their defeat at the polls on April 18, communist power has been greatly limited, and the Communist Party has lost the ability to hamper effectively the new Government's program from within the Assembly. The completeness of the defeat has also broken the spell of fear and intimidation cast by the mystery of the Party's untested strength. The cold figures of the election results have restored confidence and cut the monster to a size that can be tackled by mere men.

On the positive side, direct action by the Communists—recourse to violence in industrial or agricultural disputes, or an actual attempt to overthrow the Government by force—although improbable, is still a possibility. The Government's majority, the stern attitude of the police and the restored confidence of the people, plus the open concern of the Western Powers in keeping order in Italy, seem to have influenced the immediate post-election decision of the Communists to refrain from disturbances. But direct action is still to be considered possible, especially if a serious change in the international balance makes the gamble seem worth-while, or even advisable in all-over Party interests.

The most important weapon left in the hands of the Communists is a strictly negative one. The very totality of the Christian Democrat victory hides grave weaknesses. For the first time in Italy's postwar history a party commands a sufficiently large majority to enable it to govern freely without fear of communist obstruction of its program. The record of the new Government will, therefore, stand or fall on delivery of its pre-election promises. It has no opposition hindrance to which it can ascribe any share in timidities, hesitations or failures.

The Christian Democrats are no longer resisting the Communists, or even holding the line steady. They have a

clear majority, and must pass to the offensive. They must act and produce results, and can no longer allow themselves the luxury of plans and projects without being bound to their subsequent execution.

To criticize from the sidelines is easy, particularly when neither truth nor measure need be observed. The Communists, in their new situation, have a certain potential influence as heckling bystanders, for they now enjoy greater freedom to criticize government projects and to sabotage good will than before the elections. Lacking legal means of opposition, they more than make up for this deficiency by their corresponding lack of any responsibility in government affairs, either actual or prospective. They still have the confidence of great numbers of the working class, and as long as the disunity of the Socialist Party continues, the Communists have the possibility of expanding that influence through the ranks of the trade unions and among organized labor groups, in which it is now estimated they exercise a three-fourths control. How effective this remaining weapon of the Communists can be depends on the ability of the Christian Democrats to consolidate their victory and use it constructively.

The great danger to the Christian Democrats lies in the fact that their success is only a defensive victory. Their strongest opposition seems likely to come from within their own party. The elections were, fundamentally, a plebiscite for or against communism. Positive endorsement of the Christian Democrat program troubled few of the voters, who were mostly concerned with casting a ballot where it would most surely count against communism. A great many votes making up Signor De Gasperi's huge majority were negative in character. Gathered under the banner of his party are many undigested elements—fragments of other parties, some small parties *in toto*, and many individual Italians of undetermined political stripe who would stand to lose their worldly goods by a communist victory.

This mixture could prove disastrously embarrassing in the fulfillment of pre-election promises. Now that the defeat of the Communists is an actuality, a substantial part of the Christian Democrat majority may be reluctant to endorse a real application of the Party's program of social and agrarian reform. The Christian Democrat victory risks becoming another Lepanto—one glorious day, all idealism and fire, unselfishness and sacrifice, with no morrow.

Signor De Gasperi is well aware of the divisions existing within his own party, of its conflicting special interests and of the popular suspicion that the Christian Democrats might be influenced to slide to the Right. He told the Roman crowd who came to cheer him when the election results were made known: "We are not reactionaries. Every social reform promised will be made."

Those who joined De Gasperi because he was considered the farthest Right of an all-enveloping Left are therefore faced with an ironic choice. They now have the non-communist regime they voted for, and the prospect of stable government. But in order to keep that Government in power they must abridge their days of privilege. If they fight the De Gasperi reforms, they can do so only at the expense of future orderly government in Italy. Refusal to make partial sacrifice of their own special interests now can only assist in breaking down the perilous balance achieved, and commit the country to forces profiting from class hatred, chaos and violence—communism or, much more probably, fascism.

Signor De Gasperi needs the cooperation of the landed class for successful accomplishment of his promised agrarian reforms, and the cooperation of the industrialists for enactment of labor legislation. These groups are asked to act against their own personal interests for the lasting good of the country. Their interpretation of anti-communism and their understanding of the importance of sustaining the Third Force in Italy, as the only hope of standing off either extreme of authoritarianism—fascism or communism—is shortly to be put to the test.

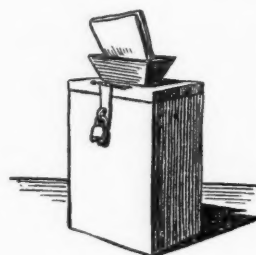
For Signor De Gasperi is already committed. He cannot afford the identification of his party or his Government with privilege or wealth. His speed in denying the charge of reaction on the very day of the announcement of his victory only emphasized the duty he feels to those courageous members of the working class—factory hands, artisans, agricultural workers, unemployed—who registered with poignant sincerity their distaste for communism and their hope in non-communist methods of social reform, re-distribution of land, labor legislation and economic reconstruction. This mandate to the Christian Democrats cannot be disregarded.

These voters were potential members of the Communist Party. All of communism's past gains cannot be swept aside as clever machinations of the Kremlin, original sin or masterly knowledge of the tool of psychological propaganda, pandering to greed, envy or jealousy of the more fortunate. Part at least of the rise of communism must be attributed to the fact that men in authority in the past aimed so low, built so poorly and with such mean ends in view. The working-class voters in Italy who cast a ballot for the Christian Democrats on April 18 voted with conviction and yearning hope this time; but failure to repay their confidence would be fatal. The immediate security of the new Government in Italy is dependent on prompt enactment of a fearless program in honest answer to the confidence of the working-class voters. If the resolution of the Christian Democrats is weakened, or their program hindered by a renascent Right within their own party, short-sightedly selfish, the workers at least could not be blamed for branding the Government as reactionary, or for deserting it for a more radical solution to present social problems.

The first task facing the Christian Democrats is to put their own house in order, reconcile existing differences and present a united front, gathering in all possible non-Communists. Signor De Gasperi has described the Chris-

tian Democrat position as "a little left of center," and the tendency in the coming months can only be a little farther to the Left. The increase in the Saragattian branch (*Unità Socialista*, or Independent Socialists) of the Socialist Party strengthens Signor De Gasperi's position, and the unhappy plight of the left-wing Nenni Socialists, who presented a common front with the Communist Party in the election, may serve to speed up a reunion between the two socialist factions. Such a reunited Socialist Party is a prerequisite to healthy government in Italy. Isolating the Communist Party, it would permit a coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists, forming

a strong enough government structure to inspire confidence both within Italy and in the outside world. The wavering and discontent of the rank and file within the Nenni group since the elections seem to herald an attempt to reconstitute their party unity independently of the Communists.



There remain to be considered in Italy the two powerful forces whose influence was considered important in the pre-election period—the Vatican and the United States.

The Vatican is hostile to communism, yet rejects any charge of favoring reaction and sternly refuses to lend its weight to any policy of privilege for the few against the many. Pope Pius XII, like his predecessors Leo XIII and Pius XI, has been outspoken in denouncing injustices to the working class, and in calling for social reforms and adequate labor legislation. Catholics in Italy, as in France, who have hoped to enlist the Church on the side of reaction or privilege, have been sorely disappointed.

American pre-election influence went squarely to the cause of non-communism and, as such, undoubtedly assisted in the victory of the Christian Democrats. Now it remains to be seen what we mean by non-communism. America cannot afford to give generously, open-handedly, idealistically with its official hand, and with its unofficial hand patronize and favor the base exploitation of an outmoded feudalistic economy or sweat-shop labor conditions. Fear of radical reform and favoring of slave-labor-type export trades, as envisioned by some American interests in Italy since the war, will only run counter to basic American policy in the peninsula. In Italy, as in France, our advantage lies in strengthening the Third Force. De Gasperi and the Christian Democrats represent the Third Force. It may look radical—by American standards it is radical—but it is also representative government, legal, orderly and corresponding to the will of the people. To realize its aims even partially will take patience and long years of persistent, plodding effort. It will also take the whole-hearted support of America, on which, unfortunately, Italy still depends for money and food as well as for an export market. But why should we hesitate to give our complete support to De Gasperi—what more do we hope for in Italy?



## Who are opposed to social security?

Joseph M. Becker

Joseph M. Becker, S.J., former teacher of economics at Detroit and Loyola (Chicago) Universities, is now at Georgetown U., making a study of our experience in paying unemployment benefits during the re-conversion period, on which he is writing a dissertation.

In my experience, the people who oppose a governmental program of social security are to be found in one of two groups.

They are both neatly portrayed in a story I picked up while working last summer in Wisconsin. The Groves bill, to provide a system of unemployment compensation in Wisconsin, was before the State legislature. (This was several years before the national act of 1935.) Hearings had been set for consideration of the bill. Its proponents managed to secure a number of influential people, including a lone employer, to speak in its behalf. After those favoring the bill had presented their case, the chairman of the hearings committee called for those who wished to speak in opposition. Two men got to their feet and started for the platform to have the honor of opening the attack. Those two men were 1) the lone communist representative in the Wisconsin legislature, and 2) the president of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association at that time.

The Communist, being somewhat closer, and a younger man, got there first. He assailed unemployment compensation as a protecting wall around the rotten and already tottering institution of capitalism, which would only make its eventual liquidation more difficult. The representative of the manufacturers' association drily acknowledged his "comrade in arms," but said that his organization opposed compulsory unemployment compensation for exactly the opposite reason, namely, that it represented a threat to capitalism, the system under which this country had grown great.

To the one man, the capitalist spirit and system were too inherently evil to be cured by any such palliative as unemployment compensation; to the other, the system was too good to be spoiled by a device which he considered so inconsistent with individual initiative as the proposed measure.

I am not concerned in this article with the amount of rightness and wrongness in each position, but simply with trying to make the two positions clear. Practically any case of opposition to social security will be found to be rooted in one or other of these two fundamental positions. Although that is a simple fact, it is a very useful one, and one not universally perceived. To repeat: a man will be predominantly critical of social security, either because he thinks the present economic system reasonably satisfactory and he does not want to run the risk of spoiling it; or because he thinks the present system is intolerable and he does not want to run the risk of prolonging it. He is cold to social security because he thinks either that it will harm or that it will help the capitalist system.

It goes without saying that the opposition can exist in varying degrees. One person may oppose without quali-

fication all forms of social security: unemployment compensation, old age and survivors insurance, public assistance (to the indigent, aged, children, the blind), health insurance, children's allowances, educational grants. Another may oppose only some of the programs. Thus, the United States Chamber of Commerce approved the President's latest recommendation (in his Budget Message) to extend the coverage of old age and survivors insurance, but disapproved of his recommendation for a program of health insurance. A third person may always cast a favorable vote for any given concrete social-security proposal, and yet always speak against it in the abstract, never missing an occasion to belittle it. But in whatever way the phenomenon of opposition manifests itself, it has its roots in one of the two fundamental positions described above.

Both of these basic groups can claim representatives in almost every state of life. I have come across priests, for example, in both groups. Labor is rarely represented these days in either group, it is true; but, earlier, the American Federation of Labor belonged to the group which feared that social security would harm the existing order. Management, of course, is found in large numbers in this latter group.

The people who fear the harm that social security may bring to the existing order do so because they admire the accomplishments of capitalism, and because (the crucial point) they attribute those accomplishments to a particular attribute of capitalism: its individualism. The freedom which capitalism accords the able individual to "get ahead in the world" is the invisible hand which has guided the Western world to its present enviable position—as compared, say, with the East. (And could the unprecedented increase in population—immortal souls all—have taken place in Europe if there had not been this unprecedented increase in the material means to support a population?)

This group is inclined to agree with the thesis of Carl Snyder's *Capital the Creator*, and with the similar though milder praise contained in the first part of Schumpeter's newest book, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. It also finds Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* highly agreeable reading. General Motors is currently sponsoring a new book called *Mainspring*, which argues that progress was regrettably retarded when the authoritarian Christian culture won out in Europe over the unregulated Saracenic culture of Mohammed. Catholics may feel that the example is unfortunate (and wonder why the public-relations man sent it to a priest), but if they belong to this group they will agree that the general point is well taken: freedom from regulation is the mainspring of progress. This is the group that published, or read approvingly, the large ads, like the following one, which

was published in the New Year's edition of the New York Times:

#### THE CLIMATE OF FREEDOM

America has more passenger cars than the rest of the world put together—far more bathtubs, and many more radios. It's that way with clothes or food or almost any comfort, convenience or necessity you can mention.

Other countries have as much metal and enough manpower. There are no atom secrets in a four-door sedan. Modern bathtubs are hardly confidential. And the mysteries of the light bulb are old hat.

What other countries *don't have* is "The Climate of Freedom," the economic and political freedom of enterprise that lets a man or a company pick its own destiny and labor towards it.

A man of this group, liking what our economy has achieved over the last century or so ("If the lot of the medieval European worker was like these, then give me modern industry," wrote a missionary from China last month), and agreeing that the "climate of freedom" was necessary for that achievement, will tend to react unfavorably to anything as regulatory as compulsory social security. He dislikes social security precisely because it interferes with the economic system as it has traditionally operated.

In passing, note two sub-types of this group: the man who knows something of economics and social security, and the man who does not. The first is aware how in the modern complicated and interrelated economy thousands of competent, industrious individuals can be reduced to destitution through no fault of their own. The opposition of this sub-type is often only partial, and is always regretful—that it is thus necessary for a few to suffer for the greater common good. The second sub-type, the ignoramus, thinks any well man who cannot support himself and family must be personally at fault, and needs only the touch of the whip of necessity to improve his state.

To the opposite group, which dislikes social security precisely because it is a logical part of the present system and may prolong it, belongs the Communist. Who else? Well, the Amish of Pennsylvania would probably be in the group, if they knew about social security. But let us confine ourselves to active, vocal folk—and, since my space is running short, to Catholics. I would put in this group the Chester-Belloc school of Distributists, and the leaders of the *Catholic Worker* movement, and the young crowd which is springing up, for example, around the editors of *Integrity*. Belloc, in his new edition of *The Servile State* remarks:

Neither has it seemed worth while to emphasize the points on which advance towards the Servile State has been made since the first publication [of this book]: they are obvious to all: the rapid growth of monopoly on the one hand and the *new measures for providing proletarian security* and sufficiency on the other . . .

In France the many experiments which elsewhere have successfully introduced the Servile State have been contemptuously rejected by the populace, and (most significant!) a recent attempt to register and to "insure" the artisans as a separate category of citizens has broken down in the face of an universal and a virile contempt. (*Italics added*)

On the tenth anniversary of the Social Security Act, Dorothy Day wrote in the *Catholic Worker*: "We believe that social-security legislation, now hailed as a great victory for the poor and for the worker, is a great defeat for Christianity."

Not all these Catholics would—some would—offer active opposition to a concrete proposal for social security. Dorothy Day in the same article added: "Of course, Pope Pius XI said that when a crisis came about, in unemployment, fire, flood, earthquake, the state had to enter in and help." Still, they merit inclusion in the ranks of the opposition in so far as their influence generally works in its disfavor. They speak of it seldom, but when they do they disparage it.

Why do they? Why do they feel (as most of them probably do) that I would be better employed if instead of working on social security I were working directly for such radical changes in the social order as would eliminate the need for social security? What is it that they object to so strongly in the present economic system? That is not easy to answer briefly. In Belloc's *The Servile State* it is the concentration of the control over capital (property) in the hands of the few. In the issues of Chesterton's *Distributist*, of the *Catholic Worker*, of *Integrity*, a long list of other objections are deduced from or added to this one. Dorothy Day's *House of Hospitality* and her forthcoming book on Peter Maurin are the best sources for the positions of her group. The January issue of *Integrity* is a very convenient place to begin for anyone who wants to get the flavor of this group. It is devoted entirely to the subject of "Mass Production," and holds "that both in its end (which is profit) and in its means (which violate man's natural integrity) mass production is inconsistent with Christianity." It contends that most men have sold to the capitalist their birthright



to be 1) a self-secured and 2) a creative individual in exchange for the pottage of machine comforts. "A mechanical society (as is industrial capitalism) rides roughshod over the delicate functional differences in men. It does not care to foster each man's unique talent."

This group would be unimpressed by the "Climate-of-Freedom" advertisement. They would argue against its first paragraph that a purely materialistic standard of progress cannot measure the spiritual price paid for that progress; and against its last paragraph that actually only a few can pick their own destiny.

It is clear that although these Catholics share the radicalism of the Communist, they differ from him in nearly every other way. They reject not only his materialism (they are willing to accept a lower standard of living in exchange for a kind of work that facilitates union with God) but also his reliance on the state. They speak in accents curiously similar to the capitalist's about the value of individual opportunity and responsibility. What they deny, of course, is that the mass of men under capi-

talism have an opportunity to be such creative and responsible individuals.

It does not matter that I have been speaking of "capitalism" throughout this article without defining the term. No definition was needed. What is under discussion is the concrete economic system in which we have lived these past one hundred years. To the one group this existing arrangement is the best of systems, and owes that superiority to a principle which is incompatible with social security. To the other group, it is the worst of

## A plan for family seniority credit

Lawrence M. Kearns

If you were running a small factory in a small town with a few hundred employes, and were faced with the economic necessity of laying off part of the work force, how would you choose those to be laid off? In all probability you would apply a number of different criteria—such as the value of the worker to you by reason of his ability and experience, the length of time he worked for you, whether he could find work elsewhere, whether he had been a conscientious employe from the point of view of attendance and conduct in the plant and, last but not least, whether he had a wife and children at home depending on his weekly pay check.

Perhaps you would admit that it is no easy task to decide which individuals must go, and that there would be room for favoritism or discrimination, human nature being what it is. If you should permit your wife's cousin, who is single and has two years' service, to stay at work while you laid off a fellow who has a family and had worked for you three years, you might even admit that you had been a little prejudiced in convincing yourself that your wife's cousin was so vastly superior in ability to the other fellow.

However, if a union represented your employes, you need have no qualms of conscience, since the union would gladly supply the answer and assume the responsibility. Seniority is the union's answer; and the lay-off would proceed, if the union's advice were followed, strictly in reverse of the order in which employes were hired.

Seniority is generally understood to mean the preference given to one employe over another by reason of greater length of service. This preference may be, and often is, applicable in cases of promotions, transfers, choice of shift, choice of vacation periods and the like; but its most common application is in the determination of which employe will be laid off first and which one will first be recalled to work following a lay-off.

Seniority as an enforceable right exists only by virtue of a contract, and through collective bargaining various types of seniority have developed to cover the conditions found in different kinds of businesses and to meet the often conflicting interests of efficient management and

systems, which ought not to be saved from the disintegrating influence of its own principles by introducing what appears to them to be the extraneous institution of social security.

In this article I have mentioned only people who are displeased with the system of social security. There are also people (Catholics among them—including all three sponsors of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill) who campaign for social security. But their classification must be the (more difficult) task of another day.

Lawrence M. Kearns, graduate of Holy Cross College and Harvard Law School, is a member of the Boston firm of Morgan, Brown and Kearns, an office which confines itself to work in the field of industrial relations, and which represents employers exclusively.

union policy. As applied to lay-offs, for example, seniority may be restricted in its operation to each separate department of a plant, or even to individual job classifications; but it frequently is provided for on a plant-wide or company-wide basis. It is common to find combinations of types of seniority, such as departmental seniority and plant seniority, in the same agreement.

Contracts differ in respect to the amount of preference to be given length of service, ranging from forms of strict seniority where length of service is recognized as the sole factor for consideration to modified arrangements where length of service governs only when, as between the workers involved, their relative qualification to perform the available work is equal. In addition to length of service and qualification to do the work, physical fitness is sometimes listed in a seniority clause as a factor to be given weight. Rarely is the family status of the employe, or some other consideration, such as residence, listed as a relevant factor for determining the order of lay-offs.

In a recent publication of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor (Preliminary Draft of *Lay-off, Work-Sharing and Re-employment*, November, 1947), out of thirty-nine different types of clauses grouped under the heading "Order of Lay-off" only two mention family status. One reads: "When laying off junior employes, other conditions being equal, family obligations will be the governing factor." The other reads:

When it is necessary to reduce the working forces in any department, consideration shall be given to the following factors:

Seniority, i.e., company seniority and departmental seniority as defined in Article 6 (Seniority).

Ability, i.e., individual employe's skill and adaptability.

Family Status, i.e., whether married or single, number of dependents, etc.

Residence, i.e., whether or not employes live in the community in which the plant is located. Seniority and ability shall be considered the most important factors, and seniority shall govern except



in those cases where there is sufficient difference in ability of two or more employees affected to outweigh the difference in seniority. However, in fairness to each individual employee, family status and residence shall be given consideration, but will be determining factors only when neither seniority nor ability predominates.

While there are no statistics as to the prevalence of clauses which mention family status, they are definitely not a widespread practice, and probably exist in only a handful of the thousands of collective bargaining agreements in this country.

The failure of management and labor to recognize family status as a consideration in determining lay-offs is not primarily due to any conscious failure to appreciate the importance of the family in our social structure. Rather it is because labor and management have concentrated on other purposes.

Unions have traditionally sought to establish seniority as the one all-important factor in determining preference in employment, thus giving the highest possible measure of job security to the worker of longest service and preventing any possibility of discrimination or favoritism. Management, on the other hand, has been aware of the deterrents to initiative, ambition and superior workmanship which strict seniority often causes. Seniority as sometimes applied requires frequent transfers of many workers to make room for the senior employee when he displaces (or "bumps") a junior worker. Management is acutely conscious of the vital need for efficient and economical operation of its business during a period of curtailed operations when bankruptcy may well be just around the corner. Consequently, it has sought to modify strict seniority by some recognition of qualification or ability to perform the available work.

In negotiating practicable compromises, both parties have generally overlooked the factor of family status. Where it has been raised as an issue by management, the parties have normally dropped it during the bargaining process because of the union's objection to the indefiniteness of its application and possible abuse when it might be used as a cloak for discrimination.

During some recent negotiations with a CIO union representing the employees of a small manufacturing plant, the only industry in a small town, I prepared for the management the following clause, which was accepted by the union and is now part of the agreement:

Family status in respect to lay-offs and recall of employees following a lay-off shall be recognized to the following extent: an employee with a seniority rating shall be accorded additional consideration over actual length of service in an amount equal to the length of service represented by one-twelfth (1/12) of the employee's years of service, multiplied by the number of the employee's dependents as listed on the employee's income-tax withholding-exemption certificate on file with the employer.

This clause provides a mathematically definite formula for computing the amount of consideration to be given family status. The family seniority credit—expressed in the form of length of service by application of the formula—is added to the employee's actual service, and the

total becomes the employee's seniority rating on the seniority list. Because of its mathematical definiteness, the formula makes favoritism and discrimination impossible in applying consideration for family status. To avoid frequent modifications in the list, it can be provided that the seniority ratings will be revised at stated intervals, perhaps once every six months, and that the list as thus revised will govern lay-offs until the next revision. By varying the fraction in the formula, a company and union which desire to establish a family seniority credit can give greater or less consideration to this factor than in the quoted clause. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that a collective bargaining agreement has contained such a formula.

In the one case in which the clause has been established, its effect appears to have brought about an equitable result. It has caused no large and radical distortions in the seniority list. For the most part, the family seniority credit put employees with families one or two places higher on the list than they would otherwise have been. Here is one example of how things would work out in a given situation:

<i>Name and Status</i>	<i>Actual Length of Service</i>
John Jones (single)	Three years, two months
Paul Adams (married, no children)	Three years
Edward Smith (married, three children)	Two years, six months
<i>Family Seniority Credit</i>	<i>Seniority Rating</i>
Smith: Ten months	Three years, four months
Adams: Three months	Three years, three months
Jones: None	Three years, two months

As indicated by the above example, the effect of the added family credit is an advantage when the actual seniority of several employees is relatively close. The system would rarely, if ever, affect the job security of employees with a great many years of service. In such cases, they would be so high on the list that, even if dropped one or two places, they would in most cases still be retained if the plant were running at all. It is the employee near the bottom of the list—first affected by a lay-off—who benefits most by the plan; very often, a place or two higher on the list means his job, or at least several months more employment before the lay-off hits him.

The family needs every bit of support and encouragement from every source. When representatives of labor and management sit down to negotiate a new agreement or revise an existing one, they should consider proposing the insertion of a family seniority credit clause in their collective bargaining agreement.

In comparison with such an issue as third-round wage increases, the family seniority credit issue would be of relatively minor importance in current collective-bargaining negotiations. But in its own small way it might well provoke some worth-while discussion, and be productive of greater equity in respect to the establishment of policies governing lay-offs. And perhaps it is really not such a little thing for leaders in industry and labor to focus some attention on this aspect of the economic security of the family.

## Is there room in America?

William Carroll

The human tragedy behind the initials DP came to life suddenly for me when I spent last Christmas with a colony of Polish families in a small Belgian village in the valley of the Meuse.

Exiles from their homeland, sometime prisoners of war, slave laborers, refugees or "lost identity" cases, these twenty families have found in Belgium a temporary asylum, with employment and a warm Christian welcome from the land of their adoption. The night before Christmas they gathered together in the only room in the village large enough to accommodate them—a storeroom in a brick factory. This was to be a Polish vigil, with songs and supper and story-telling. They invited me to pray and to sing with them.

The storeroom had been cleared and scoured clean. In the center, a pot-bellied stove radiated some warmth, but along the walls where the tables had been set, the December wind whistled through cracks in the windows, stuffed with newspapers or patched with cardboard. There was a Christmas tree with blazing candles and home-made ornaments. The whitewashed walls were festooned with holly and the crossed flags of Poland and Belgium. And a shrine had been built for Our Lady of Jasna Góra, patroness of their fatherland.

The vigil opened with a prayer and a hymn, chanted in a low minor key. Then followed the ritual of the *azyme*. At each plate we found an oblong strip of unleavened bread, wafer-thin and stamped with yellow stars and Christmas emblems. To symbolize the interchange of greetings, you broke off a piece of this bread and offered it to your neighbor, accepting his in turn, and receiving the kiss of peace. Supper was a many-course affair, made possible only by weeks of saving and scraping and hoarding of ration coupons. There were canapés and soup, carp and a delicious sort of fritter, wines and chicory. The Friendship Train from America made no stops in Belgium, but I was able to contribute a few cartons of food that friends had sent me—pounds of prunes, rice, macaroni and dates, delicacies the children had never tasted, and their parents not since 1939.

Unforgettable was the singing at supper—carols, folk-songs and national anthems. East and West meet in Polish music. Phrases that might be from Chopin blend with strange harmonic intervals that seem like echoes from the Orient. There was a Christmas lullaby sung by young mothers with babies at their breasts, and the song of Joseph, by their husbands. There were merry songs and thumping tunes, and yet, throughout the whole repertory, I noticed little change in expression on the faces of the singers. Even in their most light-hearted and merry moods, there was a distant, far-seeing look which seemed to annihilate the seven hundred miles that separated these exiles from their once-happy homeland.

From the brick factory we walked a mile to church for midnight Mass, through a cold, slanting rain, over icy, cobbled streets, with the silhouettes of tilting roofs darkening the way. This is Walloonland, the gloomy north of Caesar's campaigns, and I realize now what Caesar left unsaid when he reported mutinies during the winter months. December weather in Belgium would make rebels of any people as sun-loving as the Italian legions. This land, too, was Crusader-recruiting territory. The village church dates back to the year 1,000, with its fortress-like tower rising in strong Roman lines. From this church went forth men and boys on the First Crusade, preached by Peter the Hermit at near-by Huy.

The church was warmed only by our breath. Before Mass, children of the parish staged a simple pageant—St. Joseph's welcome to the shepherds. Red-cassocked altar boys took up a collection to buy a new ox for the manger. As a temporary replacement, someone had added a clay rooster, Peter's chanticleer—a delightful anachronism not at all disturbing to popular imagination or piety. There was also a lamb, the gift to the Christ Child from his six-month-old cousin, John the Baptist.

The world-wide good news of the Christmas gospel was sung out to a congregation of Belgians and Poles, with a few families of Ukrainians and Italians—an international audience that was represented at the altar by the officers of the Mass, the village curé, a Polish priest (survivor of Dachau) and myself, an American Jesuit.

On Christmas day I joined the Polish Father in a round of visits to the homes of his compatriots. We blessed their one-room lodgings, poor but clean, with their stone floors scrubbed spotless and the woodwork shining. Home life among these exiles is lived on a simple level—a table, a bed and a stove. Everywhere I saw the crucifix and Our Lady's picture, assurance that war and exile have left invincible Poland's thousand-year-old faith.

On Christmas night we assembled again for supper, more songs and folk-dances. There were triple toasts to Poland, to Belgium and to America. And a rousing cheer for Italy when a Neapolitan neighbor arrived with his accordion and always-in-season repertory of *Santa Lucia* and *O Sole Mio*.

At the height of this merriment, the Christmas tree caught fire. It was quickly quenched by the bare hands of one of the Poles. He laughed off my astonishment. "I've been through Dachau," he explained, showing me the scar tissue on the palms of his hands.

The closing moments of this Christmas-in-exile were memorable. In full-throated unison they sang the national anthem, *God protect Poland*, and then knelt for a good-night prayer. With heads bowed and arms outstretched, they prayed for Poland and their parents, brothers and sisters dispersed or lost in eastern Europe. It was a heart-rending scene.

I looked around at this group as they knelt there on the paved floor of a brick factory's storeroom. Young men they were, only four or five of them over thirty. And their wives, several still in their teens, with babies in their arms or toddling about the room. No child was

over four. Here, in a strange land they have established a sort of communal life, with an elected "president," twenty-eight-year-old Stefan. He was a soldier in the Polish battalion that joined forces with the English for the liberation of Belgium. Anton and Jan were with the Poles in Italy during the Monte Cassino offensive. But the rest had come from Germany or Russia, after their release (or escape) from concentration camps and forced labor. Most of them were too young to be in the Polish army eight years ago when the German *Panzer* divisions cracked through Poland's defenses. A few of the latest arrivals are refugees from the Russian zone in Germany. They are still coming from across the Rhine.

Although they are grateful for the livelihood and security that this brick factory offers them, they are accepting it only for a while. They speak of themselves as nomads, with Belgium as one stop on their journey. They have no thought of turning back. Only in their songs and prayers do they speak of Poland. Ask them if they will return, and they look at you silently. But their eyes speak with a language not of hatred for Poland's oppressors, but of stark fear, almost an animal fear, dull and deadening. They know about Yalta and what happens to repatriated peoples. They know that in Eastern Europe migration is called treason. They heard what happened to thousands of young prisoners of war in June, 1945—massacred as they crossed the frontier of Yugoslavia when the Allies sent them back in accordance with the Yalta agreement.

In conversation these Poles speak only of flight, of escape to the other side of the world. Already they have been driven far westward from their homes, but not far enough to quiet their fears. "Anywhere, Father," they told me "anywhere west of here." Some are making arrangements to go to Argentina, others to Canada. All of them want to reach the other shore of the Atlantic. A poignant line from Virgil came back to me as I looked at these people in prayer. Like lost souls waiting for transport ". . . tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore."

Most pitiful of all, these DP's want to lose their identity. They have torn up any records that might prove their nationality. New cards of identity have been issued by the Belgian Government, but they plan to hold on to these only so long as is required for their employment and residence. "The Russians come," Stefan told me, "and we burn our cards. We try to lose ourselves."

I shall never forget the reception that was repeated over and over again on this Christmas day, each time that I was introduced to a Polish family. The word "American" sounds the same in all languages, and it is beginning to mean the same. Speak of America, and their faces light up with a look of hope that time will not easily erase from my memory. And then the impulsive rush to clasp your hand, followed by quick efforts, tinged with pride, to associate themselves with someone in America. "I have a cousin in Buffalo. . . . I know someone in Michigan. . . . I met a soldier from Oregon."

And that heart-wrenching refrain! "Is there room in America for me?"

## The face of a saint

Paul Doncoeur, S.J.

It is seldom that we are able to see the true faces of the saints, but it is most desirable that we be able to do so. For the greater part we possess no contemporary portraits of them. Such portraits as we do have are often retouched, and do not reproduce their true countenances. By unexpected good fortune I was enabled to rediscover the authentic portrait of Stanislaus Kostka at the age of nine or ten. It is one of the finest portraits of the sixteenth century, and has the firmness, color and life of a Clouet. The story of this discovery, with photographs in color, was published in *L'Illustration* in the issue of October 11, 1947.

The Jesuit novitiate in Champagne possesses a little picture, dated 1568 and attributed to Scipione Delfino, representing St. Stanislaus Kostka. The countenance is that of a young boy rather than a young man; and Father Martindale in his life of St. Stanislaus emphasizes the astonishingly youthful traits in the face. Thousands of copies of the portrait had been engraved. If he had had the original at hand, Father Martindale would not have failed to note some mysterious details in the portrait. A sort of bar runs across the forehead, and above that, one notes the color of the hair. I was intrigued by these features, and asked permission to take the portrait to experts in the Museum of the Louvre.

On examination, M. Aubert recognized that there had been a repainting. Although the operation was a very delicate one, he undertook to remove the second picture; he set to work on the hair, and was interested to find under the re-painting a vermillion cap. He decided to pursue the quest. With infinite care, he succeeded in getting rid of all the over-coating. Then, in place of the black hair, there emerged a vermillion toque with a brown band around it. In place of the cassock there was a yellowish-brown jacket, and we found ourselves looking at a young nobleman, eight or ten years old, in the Polish costume of the sixteenth century. It was little Stanislaus at the age of his First Communion!

What had undoubtedly happened was as follows: at the death of St. Stanislaus, his brother had brought this little family portrait to Rome—but the authorities considered the young novice a saint. They wanted to change this natural portrait into a pious image. The original was heavily repainted, without retouching the face. The handsome red cap disappeared, and the jacket was replaced by a soutane. So we have the holy novice in a religious garb, but with the face of a child of ten.

At the request of superiors, one of the most illustrious engravers of Paris, Jacques Beltrand, undertook to reproduce the original in a de-luxe edition. Soon copies of this magnificent portrait will enable the friends of St. Stanislaus, patron of youth, to admire the lovely face of this simple youth. The portrait, engraved by M. Beltrand, will be on sale this winter at the *Orante*, Paris, 23, rue Oudinot, VII.



# Literature & Art

## E. A. Robinson: vision and voice

Sister M. Bernetta Quinn

*This evaluation of Robinson is particularly timely in view of the recent publication, Untriangulated Stars, correspondence of the poet which reveals much of himself. Sister M.*

*Bernetta is on the English faculty of the College of St. Teresa, Winona, Minn.*

Years have not thinned the laurels on the brow of Edwin Arlington Robinson since his death in March, 1935. Rather the circle of those who recognize the fruits of his total dedication to the poetic art has lengthened its radius until it now includes millions who find in his writings "a fountain of icy strength in the far sunlight." Detached from time and place, John Brown, Lazarus, Rahel, Rembrandt, Saint Paul, Luke Havergal, Miniver Cheevy, Richard Cory, consort with the citizens of Camelot in *lumine gloriae* of literature.

As for their monarch, did he suspect what a soul inhabited the husk of his flesh? Could his contemporaries have said of him as he has Jonson say of Shakespeare:

Albeit, he knows himself—yes, yes, he knows—  
The lord of more than England and of more  
Than all the seas of England in all time  
Shall ever wash.

Probably the answer is yes. Certainly the fact that he was aware of his own strangeness is indicated by the sonnet "On the Night of a Friend's Wedding." Certainly, too, as "Many Are Called" shows, he realized the rarity of genius. Sometimes confidence in himself struggled against the imp of doubt pictured in that perfect piece of self-portraiture, "Rembrandt to Rembrandt," but regardless of any flickering in his conviction that unique power was his, he must have known that he was one of the immortals, that like Oakes he could say:

By fate, that gives to me no choice,  
I have the vision and the voice.

Although Robinson believed that poetry, if undefinable, is eventually unmistakable, he often concerned himself with the weight his work would have in the scales of unborn generations. By and large it was to the men who were to come after him that he looked for justification of his lifelong consecration. Sometimes in his verse there is an echo of indifference to fame, as in "John Brown":

What men say  
I was will cool no cannon, dull no sword,  
Invalidate no truth.

Other times he emphasizes the idea of the uncertainty involved when one participates

In Art's long hazard, where no man may choose  
Whether he play to win or toil to lose. ("Caput Mortuum.")

Undoubtedly he often thought that his was to be the fate of those who "sigh for distant welcome that may not be seen," as his Rembrandt puts it; surely he must have

viewed the signals of fame that arrived with the 'twenties in a spirit of incredulity and distrust. Robinson knew enough of editors and well-meaning but unperceptive friends to steady himself with the warning: "Time finds a withered leaf in every laurel."

At present, although Robinson's reputation is growing, misconceptions of his work persist. The most blatant of these is an insistence on his dark outlook, an attitude summed up in two lines from James Norman Hall's tribute in the *Atlantic*:

He rarely saw, on any day, on all his lonely way,  
A brighter sky than gray.

As a matter of fact, a goodly share of E.A.'s days must have been anything but gray. Surely the admittedly joyous period of high school, the long tranquil summers at the MacDowell colony in the shadow of Monadnock, the hours with his nieces, his well-ordered life at the Ledoux country place, the interlude at La Tourette, brought a quiet joy to his spirit. Moreover, any artist knows that through the exercise of his craft comes the most exhilarating intellectual pleasure. But most convincing is Robinson's own impatience with those who considered him pessimistic. Of the poet's reaction to Mrs. Swanton's letter saying that *The Torrent and the Night Before* was "gloomy" and "pessimistic," Hagedorn tells us:

The criticism filled him with a kind of helpless despair.  
He, gloomy? He, pessimistic? Could not people read?

He was likewise surprised and distressed when his Peterborough friend, Dr. William J. Walsh, reproached him in a letter for the despair in "Ponce de Leon," and he replied by disclaiming any intention of a morbid strain. "I don't feel that way," he wrote.

To William Stanley Braithwaite, interviewing him for the *Boston Transcript*, he said:

If any reader doesn't get from my books an impression that life is very much worth while, even though it may not always seem to be profitable or desirable, I can only say that he doesn't see what I'm driving at.

Innumerable references to his poems could be made to prove that Robinson leaned toward optimism. Even in *The Children of the Night*, which Amy Lowell declared was without possibility of argument one of the most completely gloomy books in the whole range of poetry (an opinion with which many will disagree), there are definite annunciations of hope. One such may be found in

"The Altar." The poet dreamed of a fiery altar toward which a martyred throng was striving. He awoke

... and was the same  
Bewildered insect plunging for the flame  
That burns, and must burn somehow for the best.

Humanity may not understand, but the wise Design is there nevertheless. In the same volume, "L'Envoy," in referring to the instrument within the poet capable of making transcendent music, concludes with:

And after time and place are overthrown  
God's touch will keep its one chord quivering.

Of Robinson's faith, more will be said later in treating of immortality as a theme which recurs constantly in his poetry. Sufficient is it here to deny Van Wyck Brooks' statement in *The Flowering of New England*: "He could not share the old assurance that life was part of a purposeful plan, much as he wished to share it and almost did so."

Robinson was a man of faith, which is a belief in things that appear not. He did not *know*, as we know the seen; he *believed*, as we believe in the unseen. He did not have all the answers, but he did not dismiss the questions which burned in his brain ("Why are we here? What are we doing—kings, queens, Camelots, and Lance-lots? And what is this dim world that I would leave...") as does the current agnostic; rather he spent his whole life pondering their solution.

Instead of the winter to which Mr. Brooks and others liken him, he is more like a season in which leaves hang crimson on the wall. As for Brooks' query: "Had there ever been a poet who loved life less or found so little joy in the turning of the season?"—one need only turn to "The Sheaves" to find a glorious reply. He knew that life must change, that ancient happiness can never be recovered, that you can't go home again. Lancelot warns Guinevere:

Could we go back  
To the old garden, we should not stay long;  
The fruit that we should find would all be fallen  
And have the taste of earth.

"The Long Race" describes the tragedy of returning to what is no longer there. But Robinson was reconciled to this ever-forward motion and awaited the future steadfastly. "And let the morrow come for what it will." ("Horace to Leuconoe.")

He was aware, however, that persons without hope exist. Such a one is John Everedown, caught in the toils of his own sin, one who has given up trust in divine mercy. What consolation could not he and his creator—as well as Hawthorne and Poe of older days—have found in the thrice-blessed unburdening of the sacrament of penance! Perhaps if Robinson had been spared the impressions of Catholicism made by friends like Louis and Thorne, if all the members of the Church whom he knew well had been of the integrity of Theodore Maynard and Dr. Walsh, he might have satisfied the curiosity implied in the conclusion to "The Three Taverns": "But none may say what he shall find in Rome." As it was, his attitude toward Roman Catholicism was of the kindest, the

Gregory notwithstanding. In *The History of American Poetry*, among other debatable dicta, we read:

... but in the view of a New Englander who held to the heritage of his thoroughly Protestant beliefs with the loyalty of Robinson, the universal, the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages stands between him and the object of his vision (p. 127).

This thoroughly Protestant loyalty is difficult to discover in the poet who wrote to Dr. Walsh:

It [the Catholic Church] is the only real Church that is left; and I don't see how there can be another Church founded on and rebuilt from all the evangelical ruins that are scattered over this country and Europe.

Even the appellation of "New Englander" may be deceptive unless one includes in its meaning the irony expressed by Robinson in his sonnet "New England."

One of Robinson's best friends, Willy Butler, put a bullet through his head, a tragedy about which the poet brooded and which inspired the dedication to Butler of *The Man against the Sky*. The title poem of this collection concludes with the significant lines:

If there be nothing after Now,  
And we be nothing anyhow,  
And we know that—why live?  
'Twere sure but weaklings' vain distress  
To suffer dungeons where so many doors  
Will open on the cold eternal shores  
That look sheer down  
To the dark tideless floods of Nothingness  
Where all who know may drown.

The very fact that Robinson did not open any of these doors is a reliable proof of his belief in immortality, his faith in the survival of the human spirit. Frequent use of the word *soul* and labeling of materialism as "damned nonsense" separate him from the positivists. Among Robinsonian characters, John Brown expresses anticipation of a future existence: "For death is what is coming, and then life." And Guinevere reminds Lancelot:

We are told of other States  
Where there are palaces, if we should need them,  
That are not made by hands. I thought you knew.

"Two Sonnets," preoccupied with eternity and inspired by arguments with his friend Robbins, reveal the poet as disbelieving that in the life to come we shall cherish the features of dead friends. He represents the shedding of our bodies as the doffing of costumes after a masque. "Variations of Greek Themes," a series of epitaphs, has several references to life beyond the grave.

A defense of immortality is contained in "Octave I," another in "Rembrandt to Rembrandt."

To Gledhill, sometime between 1893 and 1896, Robinson wrote:

The universe is a great thing, and the power of evil never put it together. Of that I am certain, and I am just as certain that this life is but one little scene in the big show.

The world Robinson lived in (or rather his attitude toward it) and the world he created had balance. Sin was sin, dependent on free will and not on inescapable circumstances. Through these worlds moved a "Presence



that would not be gone," of whose power over him the poet was only partially aware. "Calvary" is a Christian poem, as are "The Three Taverns," "Lazarus," "Nicomachus," "Karma," "The Wandering Jew" and "Ponce de Leon."

Emerson, whose ideology Robinson is occasionally accused of sharing, would have been incapable of the humility expressed in a letter E. A. wrote to Gledhill, near the end of the nineteenth century:

... but I fear I haven't the stamina to be a Christian—accepting Christ as either human or divine. Selfishness hangs to a man like a lobster and is the thing that keeps humanity where it is, I know that, but at present I am pretty much a human being,

though I see a glimmer of light once in a while and then meditate on possibilities.

Two things are noteworthy in this passage: that he feared implies a desire; that he knew Christianity took stamina shows that he had an ideal of what following Jesus Christ means and, with his customary honesty, felt unequal to going the whole way. But thirty-five years were to come after this statement of Robinson's attitude toward Christ. His final decision went with him unspoken, into "a cleaving daylight and a last great calm." And mortality, troubled with eternal questions, goes on finding light in the vision and truth in the voice of Edwin Arlington Robinson.

## Books

### *The search for wholeness*

#### HEART IN PILGRIMAGE

By Evelyn Eaton and Edward Roberts Moore. Harper. 273p. \$2.75

#### BODIES AND SOULS

By Maxence van der Meersch. 654p. \$3.75

Both these novels, which are otherwise vastly different, are concerned with an individual's search for integrity, which, in its higher reaches, means simply a man's forthrightness before God. Elizabeth Bayley Seton, the subject of the first fictionalized treatment, found hers in the Church and as Mother Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity; Michel Doutreval, the young French doctor hero of the second tale, kept a purely natural integrity toward his work and, at the end of the long story, has caught a glimmer of a spiritual wholeness through the love and suffering of his wife.

Msgr. Moore, pastor of New York's St. Peter's Church (where Elizabeth Seton was received) and Miss Eaton have managed their story well, with copious help from Mother Seton's own diaries and letters. Her wealthy and cultured young years, her marriage, the death of her husband in Italy, the devotion of the Filicci family, her reception into the Church and the consequent hostility of friends and even family, her slowly dawning vocation to the religious life and her heroic work therein, are all quite movingly detailed. There is a certain naïve charm about the story, particularly towards the end, where Mother Seton's relationship with

her grown sons and daughters is shown as gay and unsanctimonious.

But it strikes me that it is the very charm of the book that rather destroys the strength of the story and the character. It may be, however, that so much is known of Elizabeth Seton's life from her own writings, which color the book so largely, that the result was a dampening of the authors' imaginative fire. The book, admirable as it is, demonstrates the inherent difficulty of achieving unity from a blend of fact and reconstruction.

*Bodies and Souls* has not this main difficulty to contend with, though there is a wide factual basis used as background material. That basis is a terrible indictment of the venality, immorality, political string-pulling of a segment of the French medical profession. Under control of the state, professors in the medical schools squander their time and talents on advancement in standing rather than expend it on devotion to their science and suffering humanity. Against this corruption, Doutreval, the hero, stands out incorruptible. He even marries a poor, sick girl of humble stock, jeopardizing his career for a sympathy which later becomes love.

I must warn prospective readers that this massive book contains some of the most horrifying passages I have ever read, descriptions of operations bungled, of brutal disregard for pain, of terrifying experimental operations, and so on. There are, further, mistresses for almost every doctor in the book, though it is the mere fact that is insisted on; one of the doctors most lovingly portrayed is convinced that diet alone can cure anything, and the author apparently preaches the same evangelism.

Apart from the special pleading in the book and what appears an overloading of the dice, here is a powerful book that speaks largely on the side of

the angels, for all that there are passages of doubtful moral theology put into the mouth of a priest. Impassioned, brutally outspoken, the book is a crusader's cry that the medical profession, if it above all is not spiritualized, will degenerate into a soulless trafficking in bodies.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### *God's place in history*

#### CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford. 263p. \$3.50

Prof. Toynbee has a long perspective. Urbane and learned, he gives the reader a rather soothing sense that the collapse of another civilization—ours—does not matter. Other great civilizations have died; ours may or may not.

It is a salutary thing, especially since we are usually so completely submerged in the contemporary, to be reminded that

the human race has been in existence for at least 600,000 and perhaps a million years, life for at least 500 million and perhaps 800 million years, and the planet itself for possibly 2,000 million years. On this time-scale the last five or six thousand years that have seen the births of civilizations, and the last three or four thousand years that have seen the births of higher religions are periods of such infinitesimal brevity that it would be impossible to show them, drawn to scale, on any chart of the whole history of this planet up-to-date.

Toynbee makes the reader feel contemporary with Julius Caesar. One is hopelessly provincial if he imagines that his own civilization is *civilization*.

It is refreshing to read a historian who believes that the pressing problem of our time is a religious one, and, by contrast with the Marxist, the author seems Christian. This world, he says, is



a province of the Kingdom of God. As overwhelming as are the political and economic problems, the trial of civilization is, in the last analysis, a religious trial.

It is hard, however, to discover what the term *Christian* means to Toynbee. In one essay he writes in almost orthodox Christian terms, and in the next seems to expect for the future a kind of eclectic religion made up of the wisdom of Jesus, Mahomet, Zoroaster and Buddha, with Christianity "a transitional thing which bridges the gap between one civilization and another. . . ."

In *Civilization on Trial*, the essay of the thirteen which gives the book its title, Prof. Toynbee again reminds us that civilizations are new on the planet, and proceeds to suggest two possibilities: a unified and happy world or a world taken over by the Negrito pygmies of Central Africa. He suggests, even, the possibility that in a few million years the winged insects might acquire a "glimmer of intellectual understanding" and look back upon the "brief reign of the human mammal, as almost irrelevant episodes, 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' The challenge to us, in our generation, is to see to it that this interpretation of history shall not become the true one."

Would Toynbee have an easy answer for a skeptical reader were to ask him, "Why?"

I hope my confusion after reading these essays was my own lack of understanding. The author, in so far as he gives the reader a tremendously wide and long frame of reference by which to view history, does succeed in one of his stated aims.

Though he quotes Christian wisdom and seems at times to interpret history in terms of the supernatural, he leaves the impression that theologically he belongs with those latitudinarian Anglicans who are not quite sure about the Incarnation, who believe, perhaps, that really, after all, Socrates and Lao-tze and Jesus are equal representatives of rather vaguely defined "higher, spiritual values."

It is good in these materialistic times to have a learned author interpret history in terms of man's relation to God, and we hope that confirmed determinists study Toynbee and learn from him that God may have had something to do with history. We hope, too, with the author, that the destruction of our world is not inevitable and that, if unity is impossible, a Western European and Eastern civilization may exist together in peace.

The Christian's capacity to face the end of another civilization without panic has deeper sources than those that come of a stoic awareness of long stretches of time. HUBERT N. HART

### Three books on Soviet Russia

**I'LL NEVER GO BACK: A Red Army Officer Talks**

By Mikhail Koriakov. Translated from the Russian by Nicholas Wreden. Dutton. 247p. \$3

### LOST ILLUSION

By Freda Utley. Introduction by John P. Marquand. Fireside Press. 288p. \$3

### A RUSSIAN JOURNAL

By John Steinbeck. With pictures by Robert Capa. Viking. 220p. \$3.75

These three books on Russia and life inside the Soviet Union have been written by authors of different nationality and background. As a result, their approaches to the subject vary widely, although all three seem sincere in reporting their observations.

First, we have Mikhail Koriakov, a fugitive Soviet captain. After savoring the freedom of Western air, he swore never to return to his Soviet "fatherland." Freda Utley, a "disillusioned" British Communist, spent some six years in Stalin's "paradise," there lost her Russian husband, and finally managed to leave Russia, together with her son. Now she tells us about her "lost ideals." The third author is John Steinbeck, already known for his best sellers. Mr. Steinbeck went to the Soviet Union to see for himself "what the Russian people were like," and to report impartially and "non-politically" to the American reading public.

Mikhail Koriakov's book, *I'll Never Go Back*, is an excellent and moving story of personal adventure, the tale of a political neophyte who found his way into a world where he could breathe freely. His book we can call a true inside account of how the people within the Russian prison live, think and aspire.

The young author, Mr. Koriakov—born in 1911—is an offspring of the Soviet system, raised and educated under typical communist circumstances, where the teachings of religion and Christian ethics had no place or official approval. After finishing a school of journalism, he worked as a Soviet newspaper man, but could not reconcile his personal convictions with the task of a

totalitarian writer. So he went to Yasnaya Poliana as a curator of the Tolstoy Museum.

When war came, Mr. Koriakov, like millions of other Soviet citizens, was called to the ranks. There he soon rose to the rank of captain and distinguished himself as a military correspondent attached to the Soviet Sixth Air Group. But in the army, too, the young correspondent ran into serious difficulties with the Soviet authorities. He soon found that in the Red Army there were many deeply religious souls, that the atheistic propaganda of the Soviet Government had not and could not destroy this deep-seated sentiment. But Koriakov's open display of admiration for the church was sufficient reason for quick re-assignment to a penal battalion on the German front.

As the battle line moved westward, Koriakov, for the first time in his life, saw how people thought and worked outside the sphere of Soviet terror. In the Ukrainian territories of pre-war Poland he witnessed the flourishing religious life among Poles and Ukrainians. These experiences further strengthened his belief that mankind's salvation lay not in a materialistic philosophy, but in Christian teaching and practice.

Close to the war's end, Koriakov was captured by the Germans and barely escaped execution. Even in a German POW camp, he felt depressed on account of his citizenship in the Soviet state. In the camp, where he lived with other Allied prisoners, including Americans, he saw how little the Stalin Government cared for its soldiers. While Americans received gift parcels from the Red Cross, the Russian prisoners of war trembled with fear at the prospect of returning to the Soviet jurisdiction. Liberated by the U. S. armies, the author made his way to Paris. There, without giving his previous record, he worked for ten months in the Soviet Embassy.

In the French capital the author saw with indignation the clandestine activities of Russian secret agents, directed by the Soviet Embassy itself. Through a special agreement with the French government, the far-reaching squads of the NKVD operated freely on French territory with unbelievable intensity. When, one morning in March, 1946, Koriakov was called by the chief of the NKVD in Paris and told he would be transferred to Russia, he made a sensational dash for freedom.

Miss Freda Utley was born in England of socialist parents. While a uni-

versity student, she became a radical and soon found herself in Moscow, where she joined the Communist Party. Married to a Russian husband, she went with him to the Orient, not infrequently traveling as a Comintern agent and bearer of important confidential documents. Eventually Miss Utley returned to Moscow, where she spent six years as an ordinary Russian woman, struggling for food, shelter and clothing. Her dream of the "communist paradise" was gradually shattered. Yet, mindful of the safety of her husband and son, Miss Utley suppressed her thoughts and kept quiet. One day, however, the GPU men came and took her husband, whom she never saw or heard from again. With her son she somehow managed to get out of Russia. Now she lives in Washington, and makes a living by lecturing and writing on political topics.

Although *Lost Illusion* is a continuation, or rather a re-write of her previous book, *The Dream We Lost*, it is, nevertheless, an important dramatic and human document. Miss Utley had the courage to tell others about her "disillusionment." She learned about the cruelty of the Stalin regime the hard way, by losing what was perhaps most precious in her life—her husband.

The book is of general interest, and it will provide additional clues to our contemporary analysis of Russian psychology. This in turn should help many of us read and interpret Russian actions as they are.

The third book definitely does not belong in the same category as the other two. Mr. Steinbeck went to the Soviet Union with the preconceived idea of reporting only on the Russian people, without mingling in Soviet politics. Accompanied by Mr. Capa, an outstanding photographer, Steinbeck visited Moscow, Kiev, Stalingrad and Stalin's native Georgia. Since neither he nor his photographer spoke Russian or Ukrainian, they were assisted by official interpreters from the *Voks*, an official Soviet agency covering cultural relations with foreign countries. The question arises: were Messrs. Steinbeck and Capa really free to see and talk to Soviet citizens without interference from the Government? We think not.

It goes without saying that *A Russian Journal* lacks the dramatic and revealing elements found in first-hand accounts. After the author's own admission we would expect a superficial book. The smiling pictures that adorn Mr. Steinbeck's pages leave the ines-

capable impression that the book is not the product of independent American study, but a propaganda publication of *Inturist* or some other Soviet agency.

From a political viewpoint, Mr. Steinbeck's book is ill-timed and misleading. From it an uninformed reader might easily draw the conclusion that all the fuss about Russian non-cooperation is an invention of American generals and Wall Street bankers. Mr. Steinbeck tells how good and cooperative are those Russians whom he saw! Well, the fact is, they aren't, at least not the ruling élite, which ruthlessly proceeds with world conquest.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

#### MISS ULYSSES FROM PUKA-PUKA

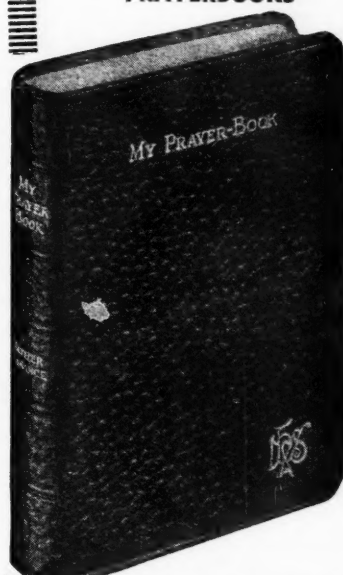
By Florence (Johnny) Frisbie. Macmillan. 241p. \$3.

Johnny Frisbie was fifteen when she finished writing this autobiography and, judging by the results, her father's teaching methods should be made compulsory—at least in reading and writing. But maybe his system would be successful only on Puka-Puka or some other South Sea atoll; civilization probably offers too many distractions. Johnny made up the title, a neat blending of her easy familiarity with Homer and her articulate awareness of her own reactions. As they would approach a new island, her brother and sisters would see shoreline and natives, but she was always thinking of Circe or Calypso, she was "Miss Ulysses from Puka-Puka."

With a refreshing directness and an approach to life that combines the naive with the knowing in a way that is always amazing and frequently humorous, this child of a South Sea trader and a Polynesian mother tells of her extraordinary childhood, giving the same careful attention to a children's game as to a hurricane. Her attitude toward the reader is one of disarming confidence and friendliness. Somewhere in the middle of the book she gives a note on her technique—she used her own diary and her father's journal (from which she never cribbed, however) and then, at her father's suggestion, just jabbered away in English, Puka-Pukan, or Rarotongan. Mr. Frisbie did the editing and translating.

Hers is a singing story, singing of a zest for living, the natural beauties of the islands, the pride of the natives, and the love of father and children and the memory of a beloved mother. But her song is not without its dissonances,

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# America's May Book-Log

10

## best-selling books

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- 1 OUR LADY OF FATIMA  
MACMILLAN. \$2.75 By William Thomas Walsh
- 2 THE STORY OF THERESE NEUMAN  
BRUCE. \$2.50 By Albert P. Schimberg
- 3 OUR LADY OF LIGHT By Chanoine C. Bartheas  
BRUCE. \$2.75 and Père G. Da Fonseca, S.J.
- 4 MICHAEL By Owen Francis Dudley  
LONGMANS. \$3
- 5 COMMUNISM AND THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WEST  
BOBBS-MERRILL. \$2.50 By Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen
- 6 PARDON AND PEACE  
SHEED & WARD. \$2.50 By Alfred Wilson, C.P.
- 7 CRUSADE OF FATIMA  
KENEDY. \$1.25 By John De Marchi, I.M.C.
- 8 THE GLORY OF THY PEOPLE  
MACMILLAN. \$2 By M. Raphael Simon
- 9 A FIRE WAS LIGHTED By Theodore Maynard  
BRUCE. \$3
- 10 PRIEST-WORKMAN IN GERMANY  
SHEED & WARD. \$2.50 By Henri Perrin, S.J.

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Boston	Pius XI Cooperative 45 Franklin Street	New York	Catholic Book Club 140 East 45 Street
Boston	Mathew F. Sheehan Company 22 Chauncy Street	New York	P. J. Kennedy and Sons 12 Barclay Street
Buffalo	Catholic Union Store 828 Main Street	New York	Frederick Postet Company, Inc. 14 Barclay Street
Cambridge	St. Thomas More Library and Book Shop 33 Church Street	Oklahoma City	St. Thomas More Book Stall 418 N. Robinson
Chicago	Marshall Field & Co., Book Section 121 North State Street	Omaha	Midwest Church Goods Co. 1218 Farnam Street
Chicago	St. Benet Library & Book Shop 39 East Congress Street	Philadelphia	Peter Reilly Company 133 N. Thirteenth Street
Chicago	The Thomas More Library and Book Shop 220 West Madison Street	Pittsburgh	Frank H. Kirner 309 Market Street
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Cincinnati	Frederick Postet Company, Inc. 436 Main Street	Providence	The Marion Book Shop and Lending Library 63 Washington Street
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## Books of Lasting Value

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1. St. Therese of Lisieux  
Autobiography  
T. N. Taylor (translated by)  
Kenedy
2. The Confessions of St. Augustine  
Autobiography  
F. J. Sheed (translated by)  
Sheed and Ward
3. Companion to the Summa\*  
Walter Farrell, O.P.  
Sheed and Ward
4. Progress Through Mental Prayer  
Edward Leen, C.S.Sp.  
Sheed and Ward
5. Imitation of Christ  
Thomas à Kempis  
Harper
6. Map of Life  
Frank Sheed  
Sheed and Ward
7. Complete Works of St. Teresa  
E. Allison Peers (translated by)  
Sheed and Ward
8. Edmund Campion  
Evelyn Waugh  
Little, Brown
9. St. Francis of Assisi  
Gilbert K. Chesterton  
Doubleday
10. Spiritual Life  
Adolph Tanquerey  
Newman

## CLUB SELECTIONS FOR MAY

- The Catholic Book Club:**  
Hugh Dorrer's Diaries  
Newman. \$2.50
- The Spiritual Book Associates:**  
St. Anthony of Padua  
Mabel Farnum  
Didier. \$2.75
- Catholic Children's Book Club:**  
**PICTURE BOOK GROUP:**  
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Leo Politi  
Scribner. \$2.00
- Sneezles  
A. A. Milne  
Dutton. \$0.50
- INTERMEDIATE GROUP:**  
Ten Beaver Road  
Isabel C. McLelland  
Holt. \$2.50
- OLDER BOYS:**  
Louis Pasteur  
Laura N. Wood  
Messner. \$2.75
- OLDER GIRLS:**  
A Wish for Tomorrow  
Jean Dupont Miller  
Dodd, Mead. \$2.50



as, for instance, when she comments on the bad manners of American officers, the exploiting of native women by the soldiers, the shambles left in the wake of the Army, or the swindling of the Americans by the "innocent childlike" natives. The adjectives with quotation marks are hers, incidentally.

It may be the siren-like quality of the South Seas that accounts for the book's appeal, but the vigorous, likable personality of Johnny Frisbie would stand by itself in any locale.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

#### FROM MY JOURNAL

By André Maurois. Translated by Joan Charles. Harper. 250p. \$2.75

These random notes of Maurois—from January, 1946 to January, 1947, covering his stay in the United States and his return to France—are of doubtful value and limited interest. It is obvious that this English edition is intended for American consumption, but it will not surprise many Americans to know that lately they have had on their minds the problems of aid to Europe, the efficacy of the United Nations and the future of the atomic bomb. Further, it will hardly startle them to realize that Maurois, upon his return to France, must have been depressed over the political and economic conditions in his country.

Failing to find any fresh or cogent observations on conditions in France or the United States, we looked for revelatory comments which might throw some light on the personality of so eminent a force in current French literature. Interpolated among the entries in the journal are what Maurois somewhat pompously calls "aphorisms." These are extremely disappointing: "Man is born in chains, but some men have won certain freedom"; "Victory never lacks fawners"; "Cruelty is the daughter of fear"; "Gang spirit is the opposite of government spirit," etc. It is also depressing to note a certain naïveté unworthy of Maurois' years and supposed penetration. He is almost surprised that generally "everyone—industrialist, politician, labor leader—seems to think only of his own interest"; and he wonders how "American public opinion is formed." He offers as his philosophy a sort of shaky mixture of Stoicism and Epicureanism, and feels that there might be some hope in the "humanism" of Existentialism, although the writer of the blurb prescribes this book as an antidote to Existentialism.

EDWIN MORGAN

## The Word

### PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

10. *Things visible.* Could you tell me why in our Creed, among the works of God, the things visible are mentioned first? It seems to me that the emphasis should have been placed on the invisible ones. No unbeliever would doubt the existence of the visible universe in which we live, but there are countless people on earth who deny flatly the existence of the invisible soul and of everything beyond the reach of the senses. Here lies the difficulty on the solution of which we have to concentrate all the power of our very finite brains.

You touch there a very important question which cannot be brushed aside by a few words. In order to throw some light on this problem, we must turn some pages of the history of man, and perhaps turn down, in passing, some very common and very wrong prejudices. Be patient with me, though and listen.

Sixty years ago, when the first phase of evolutionism was in full bloom, our schools had outlined a very simple pattern of the general history of mankind. The underlying idea of it smelled of the bourgeois mentality of the time: *primum vivere deinde philosophari*—"live first and speculate afterwards." In the beginning, they said, the chief concern—or, better, the sole concern—of man had been with his immediate environment: no philosophy about things remote and invisible; no theology; no religion. Man, hard pressed by the urgent necessities of life, spent all his time and all his brain power on the search for food. You can't expect theories from cave-dwellers, or philosophy from wild hunters. Afterwards, when man had solved the more urgent problems and had secured for himself comfort and leisure, he started philosophical speculation and began to spin theories about the invisible.

I confess that, in spite of its crudity,



Msgr. FULTON J.

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this general outline looks rather attractive.

I know it looks so, because it is childish. We are apt to grow enthusiastic about anything which is plain enough, because it looks like a labor-saving device. But when a doctrine is very plain at the start, it risks being very flat at the end.

Now, this beautiful theory of primitive man entirely unconcerned with the invisible is utterly wrong, as wrong as a theory can be. The facts are there. The first concern—I should say, the obsession—of man has always been centered on the invisible. The Chinese, the Hindus, had already built stupendous systems of thought about the gods, the spirits, the souls of the departed, the devil, when they had not begun to solve the immediate problems of their housing, clothing or food. Even in the prehistoric caves we find evidence of their cult of the invisible. They studied astronomy centuries before they tackled anatomy. The movements of the celestial bodies were known when the movement of the blood and the function of the heart were entirely ignored. And when philosophy began, in Greece or in India, the first thing it did was to condemn, as unworthy, the visible universe. It was the world of "matter," opposed, contrary, hostile to the invisible world of the spirit.

When our Creed was proclaimed, do you know that those words, "*visibilium omnium*," rang like a challenge? People at large were ready to admit the existence of God, of the immortal soul, of the countless spirits; but, even among the Christians, all the Gnostics, the Docetists (and they were very numerous, with priests and bishops among them) denied bluntly that God had anything to do with those despicable realities: the flesh, the body, the visible world and the material "mess." The Church, quite literally, *saved the world* with the stupendous affirmation that, since God is the Creator of material things, they have a divine value and answer a divine and mysterious purpose. We can prove historically that the genuine translation of the first article of the Creed is not solely that "there is only one God," but that it is the same one God who is the Creator of heaven and earth, of *all* the visible things, and the invisible, of the angels and the toads, of the souls and the snakes, of the mind and of the mosquitoes. There is much to say about this divine vision of the cosmos. Next week we shall follow this thought a little further. PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

## Theatre

**THE CUP OF TREMBLING.** I am skeptical of the highly touted therapeutic value of psychoanalysis and accept the stories of the wondrous cures its practitioners are bruited to have achieved with liberal sprinklings of salt. That our behavior is sometimes colored by our hidden desires seems plausible enough, and in such instances a quiet, confidential talk with a sympathetic listener may be helpful, but I doubt that it will resolve any problem that would not as readily yield to the exercise of a little common sense.

In the play presented by Paul Czinner and C. P. Jaeger in *The Music Box*, the leading character is a lady lush who is rescued from pink elephants by a psychoanalyst, after other would-be rescuers have failed. The solution is not convincing, at least not to me, and I left the theatre with the impression that Louis Paul, the author, had called upon Dr. Freud in desperation because he could think of no other way to get his play ended by eleven o'clock. Before the second act lets down, *The Cup of Trembling* is full of boozy excitement.

The story, which could be *Ten Nights in a Barroom* in reverse, is enacted in appropriate settings designed by Charles Elson to simulate the apartments, offices and bachelors' quarters in which members of the smart writing set live, move and sip their cocktails. The lady alcoholic is a popular columnist who has to attend numerous bibulous parties in the line of duty, and her devotion to her work eventually gets her down. When the play opens she has reached the blackout stage, and fears that during her mental blanks her conduct is not above reproach. Descending to street brawls, she becomes a police and hospital case, and asks her husband for a divorce before she brings further disgrace to her family. Her husband happens to be an old-fashioned fellow with the quaint notion that marriage is indissoluble, and that taking a woman for better or worse means standing by her if she turns out worse than expected. With him divorce is out and, when she insists, he beats the daylight out of her. After that, Alcoholics Anonymous, the Freudian specialist and her boss take over, with the party least likely to succeed effecting her cure.

Elizabeth Bergner, starred in the

## HOW TO SPREAD THE FAITH

What is a layman's job in this booming apostolate? Where do you start? Fr. J. A. O'Brien tells you this—and more. He gives you an editor's summary. Read this preview of his latest book, *Winning Converts*.

### also in this issue

**Sing you sinners.** People just don't sing in your parish church. And everyone's blamed: pastors, people, organists—and our hymns. In his Parish column, J. P. Holland points the way out. Read it and sing.

**What's wrong with the comics?** Superman, L'il Abner, Dick Tracy: these comic heroes annoy some of us. But today, they win many new readers. No wonder parents, priests, and teachers worry. The May *Information* covers the comics; get J. B. Sheerin's idea on what's right—and wrong—with comics.

### READ THE MAY

## Information

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leading role, is persuasive while the character is on the down grade, but falters when she begins the uphill return trip to self-respect and self-control. Miss Bergner can hardly be expected to do better in the closing scenes, for by that time her character has dissolved into a vapor of father images and guilt complexes. Millard Mitchell, as the loyal husband, and Arlene Francis, as a reformed dipsomaniac, are competent in their roles; and other members of the cast do all that is required by Mr. Czinner's firm direction. By pooling their efforts, Miss Bergner and her associates manage to make *The Cup of Trembling* as stimulating as a cocktail party after the fourth round of drinks. It is beyond their power to invest it with dramatic importance. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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## Films

THE IRON CURTAIN. This is the story of Igor Gouzenko, the Russian code clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa who made headlines a few years ago by turning over evidence of Communist espionage activities to the Canadian Government. The style is semi-documentary, with largely authentic backgrounds and a cast which—except for Dana Andrews, Gene Tierney and June Havoc who, in the principal roles, try with only partial success to act like Russians—is the more convincing for being unfamiliar. In spite of these attempts at realism, the film seems much more akin to an Eric Ambler spy novel than to fact. This may be partly accounted for by the old adage about the relative strangeness of truth and fiction, but it is mostly due to the script's being more concerned with action than with ideas. The process by which a Russian citizen, indoctrinated from birth with communist ideas, would arrive at the conclusion that his only salvation lay in betraying everything he had been taught to believe, should involve the deepest kind of soul searching, which the film, made for a predisposed audience, bothers with very little. No more does it analyze the converse and even less understandable sequence by which a variety of responsible Canadians found moral justification for their treason. The *family* should find this a tense, well-directed (by William Wellman) melodrama, but one which only scratches the surface of a baffling paradox of our times. (Twentieth Century-Fox)

THE BROTHERS. Against the desolate grandeur of the Island of Skye in the Hebrides, this British production tells a story as remote from us as its setting. The clansmen of Skye fifty years ago lived as their ancestors had lived hundreds of years before, wrestling a bare living from the sea and the soil, nurturing their ancient feuds, bound by ageless traditions and an exaggerated regard for family ties, and administering their own brand of justice in de-home, to keep house for a widower lent atmosphere comes Patricia Roc, a bonnie lassie from a Glasgow foundling home, to keep house for a widower (Finlay Currie, the convict of *Great Expectations*) and his two sons—one brawny and not very bright, and the other a neurotic but shrewd weakling

—and unconsciously to contravene tribal customs and precipitate a sequence of events which could end only in tragedy. The tragedy is never consummated because the film breaks off in the last stages and, obviously as an afterthought, appends a wholly illogical ending with joy and justice triumphant. This is but a minor irritation to *adults*, who should find the film's compelling photography and performances and its fascinating insight into the ways of a rugged and colorful people well worth a visit. (*Universal-International*)

**HOMECOMING** has an introductory scene which, in more ways than one, sets the tone of the picture. A Great Reporter, who has nothing to do with the rest of the story, is going to meet a troop transport. The audience immediately knows that he is a great reporter because two worshipful tyros, who came along for the ride, keep telling him so. Under the influence of this flattery the G. R. unbends enough to discuss the secret of his success. The man with a great story to tell, he declares, can always be recognized by a certain look in his eyes. This piece of information is of even less use to the beginners than is immediately apparent because (the reporter continues) this sort of man can never be persuaded to talk. Just then the great man spots his victim. It is Clark Gable, wearing eagles on his shoulders and carrying a cane, and his eyes have that indescribable mystic gleam. Sure enough, the reporter's prediction comes true and, after parrying numerous leading questions with gruff monosyllables, the war hero puts an end to the interview by saying: "I have nothing to tell that would be of any interest to your readers." If only the producers had recognized this remark as a pearl of wisdom shining in a sea of tripe, *adults* would have been spared this dreary and tasteless super-abundant proof. (*MGM*)

MOIRA WALSH

## Parade

(BILL, A TAXI DRIVER, STOPS HIS cab near a parked truck which is loaded with mirrors.)

**Bill** (to truck driver): Hello, Harry. What's all them mirrors about? You in the mirror business now?

**Harry**: No, I'm just hauling them. See

that there house (pointing)? A eighty-year-old lady moved in there yesterday, and today she's throwing out every mirror in the whole, entire house.

**Bill**: What's the big idea?

**Harry**: I hear it this way, Bill. The old gal ain't the beauty she used to be, and she don't want to get the bad news from the mirrors.

**Bill**: Throwing out the mirrors won't make her a looker.

**Harry**: No, it won't. But minus mirrors she can kid herself along better.

**Bill**: This is a hot one. Well, Harry, it's nice seeing you.

**Harry**: Same here, Bill. So long. (Bill drives off. Farther on, a university professor flags him.)

**Prof.** (stepping into cab): Philosophy convention, driver.

**Bill** (starting car): You a philosopher, mister?

**Prof.**: Yes, I'm on my way now to read a paper at the convention. Would you like to hear about my paper?

**Bill**: Yeah, I wouldn't mind.

**Prof.**: Briefly, I show that the human mind is incapable of knowing anything for certain. People think they know things, but they don't. For example, you think you're driving a taxi, but you may be doing something else.

**Bill**: Mister, I ain't so educated, but nobody can't tell me I ain't driving a taxi right here and now.

**Prof.**: Perhaps if you were educated you wouldn't be so positive.

**Bill**: Well, now, ain't this something. If I get educated, what happens? I get so I don't know what I'm doing. Mister, how do you know you got a paper to read. Maybe, it ain't a paper. Maybe, it's a elephant.

**Prof.**: Let's drop the matter, driver. You don't understand. (Car stops at destination. The professor hurries off; Bill drives back to his corner stand.)

**Louie** (after hearing about Bill's experiences): This here professor sounds balmy to me.

**Bill**: He ain't balmy, Louie. I read often about these kind of babies. They're kidding themselves on purpose, like the old lady is. It's like this, Louie. If you let the human mind work natural, it shows things as they are—with a big God on top of the world.

**Louie**: Something like a mirror, huh?

**Bill**: Yeah, come to think of it, yeah.

Now lotsa these here professors don't want no God telling them what to do, so they're trying to make out that the human mind don't show nothing. The old lady throws out the mirrors; these babies throw out the human mind.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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# Correspondence

## "America" is un-American

EDITOR: I wonder if you are aware that AMERICA—as well as Charles Dawson, author of the O'Rourke article (AMERICA, March 6)—is also un-American. I've been told so by several local leaders who have given it up in horror. These men are upset by the menace of communism, and strong in their public denunciation of it, but they never get around to saying a word in behalf of interracial justice or better housing legislation or any of the other steps that are part of the intelligent way of waging war against it. Unfortunately, in spite of the work being done by so many of the clergy and laity, the O'Rourkes are so often in the limelight in all Catholic activity, and exercise such complete control over our larger organizations, that they often succeed in making the Church's social program obscure and preventing its ever becoming effective.

To those of us anxious to promote the social program of the Catholic Church, AMERICA provides ammunition and encouragement. If the type of work you and others, such as the *Sign* and *Commonweal*, are doing is continued, I'm confident that we can yet rescue ourselves from the O'Rourkes.

JAMES C. O'BRIEN

Bayonne, New Jersey

## Family-allowance leaders

EDITOR: Mary T. Waggaman's article on family allowances in AMERICA (March 20) is another distinguished contribution in the long series AMERICA has published on this important subject over the years. While progress toward a system of family allowances in the United States seems discouragingly slow, progress will be made if the idea is repeatedly presented to American readers. Eventually the inequities of a wage system which callously, but necessarily, ignores need will be admitted, and we shall acknowledge that supplementary income for dependents is indispensable.

Miss Waggaman might have listed among those working for family allowances in the United States: Professor Paul H. Douglas, presently a candidate for the U. S. Senate from Illinois; the charming New York couple, Robert E. and Frances I. Delany; and Joseph A.

Gelin, Managing Editor of The Cleveland Catholic Universe Bulletin. Miss Waggaman's own name, like Abou ben Adhem's, should, of course, lead all the rest.

HELEN M. MACDONALD

St. Louis, Mo.

(And we would add the names of Senator Robert C. Wagner, Father Hubert C. Callaghan, S.J., of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., and Father Francis J. Corley, S.J., of the Institute of Social Order, whose booklet on family allowances is obtainable from ISO, 3115 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo.—EDITOR)

## Russian inhumanity

EDITOR: The inhumanity of twentieth-century humans has reached proportions that beggar description. The particular criminality I shall describe must be brought before the forum of public opinion.

A report from KIPA, appearing in the Jan. 27, 1948 issue of *L'Echo* in Switzerland and in the Brooklyn *Tablet* for Feb. 14, tells of one thousand four hundred Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul who have suffered a living death in Red prison camps since 1946. These nuns were last seen in October, 1947 en route to the Stalino mines. Subjected to undernourishment and forced labor; and living in hovels and clothed in vermin-infested rags, they felt that death itself was nothing compared to the unspeakable moral outrages suffered at the hands of their brutal guards. These sisters all wore the crucifix openly upon their breasts as they marched into the mines.

The report is verified by ecclesiastical authorities. These religious represent untold thousands of others who are suffering a like living death.

Incredible? Would—to the credit of humanity—that it were so. What is more incredible than these Russian atrocities is the deplorable fact that the public opinion of all the inhabited globe does not rise in fierce condemnation of the bestiality committed behind the iron curtain. It proves how far humans have drifted from humanity by forsaking the Divinity. May the God of Mercy have mercy on His merciless children. JOSEPH H. WELS, S.J.

St. Marys, Kansas.

## Still more on preaching

EDITOR: By way of comment on your rather curious item under Correspondence in the April 17 issue (the letter, "Don'ts for Clerics"), I am submitting my own pew-side suggestions.

1. Keep theologically alive by a broader scope of reading, not neglecting the better Protestant journals. A writer who is unorthodox does not necessarily lack insight.

2. Preach on the Sacrifice of the Mass at least fifty-two times a year; stressing, not the symbolism of the maniple, but participation, *participation*. We are not saved by externals, but by life in Christ.

3. Combat the occupational diseases that go with being a *Father*.

4. Avoid the often offensive term, "non-catholic" and use the word "Protestant" or "Jew."

In other words, make it easier for us, who live among thinking, well-intentioned men, to defend both the Church of Christ and its hardworking, devoted and virtuous priests.

LAY READER

Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Aid for China

EDITOR: Military assistance and aid in general to China by the U.S.A. is not a matter of charity. Because the U.S. "sold China down the river" by the infamous Yalta agreement, it is a matter of restitution or reparation for the injustice done to China that America should come to her aid, and that at once.

In brief, here are my chief reasons for China aid: 1) for America's own interests, 2) for the sake of China as a true friend, 3) as reparation to China for injustice to her at Yalta and its calamitous consequences, 4) for stemming the tide of Soviet expansion, which means world slavery.

WONG HWA-CHUEN

Peiping, China

## Correction

EDITOR: The correspondent whose letter on the Kraus case was published in the April 17 issue of AMERICA was in error with regard to the institution with which Dr. Kraus was connected. It was City College—not New York University—at which Dr. Kraus taught, and from which he was dismissed.

ANOTHER READER

New York, N. Y.

(Investigation proves that "Another Reader" is correct. We apologize to New York University for any embarrassment caused by the error.—EDITOR)



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